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THE
NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE
AND
JOURNAL
OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

EDITED BY

G. F. HILL, M.A., F.R.A.

KEEPER OF COINS, BRITISH MUSEUM

OLIVER CODRINGTON, M.D., F.S.A., M.R.A.S.

AND

G. C. BROOKE, M.A.

1920—PART I.

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The Society possesses an extensive Library, which is available for the use of Fellows.

The NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE and Journal of the Society is published quarterly, each number containing on the average one hundred Pages and five Plates. It is sent post free to Fellows, and its price to non-Fellows is Five Shillings.

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All contributions to the CHRONICLE should be submitted to G. F. Hill, M.A., F.B.A., Keeper of Coins, British Museum, W.C. 1; to Oliver Codrington, M.D., F.S.A., M.R.A.S., 22 Russell Square, W.C. 1; or to G. C. Brooke, M.A., Department of Coins, British Museum, W.C. 1.

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Persons desirous of becoming Fellows should communicate with one of the Secretaries.

The Editors request that Authors will so prepare their articles for the CHRONICLE that corrections in proof may be as light as possible.

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Owing to the serious rise in the cost of printing and illustration, it has become impossible to continue the Chronicle on its old scale. Fellows are accordingly invited to increase their annual subscriptions, or to make donations to the funds of the Society.

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See Cumulative Index
to Vols. XI - XX
I. (1911-20)

A FIND OF COINS OF SINOPE.

[SEE PLATE I.]

THE British Museum has recently acquired thirty-four drachms of Sinope, all purporting to have been found together in the Crimea, which offer several points of interest, and which should prove of some assistance towards a closer classification of the various issues of that city in the first part of the fourth century B. C. The description of the coins, arranged by magistrates in alphabetical order, is given below; where the magistrate is already known to the authors of the *Recueil général des Monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*, a reference is given to that work.¹ As we have to do with a find, a rough attempt has been made to indicate the condition of the coins (which seem to have suffered somewhat by cleaning) by classing them either as fine (F.), very good (V. G.), good (G.), or worn (W.); none are in mint state.

Obv.—Head of Sinope I., sometimes with ear-ring and necklace, her back hair confined in a sphendone (above or below the edges of which it sometimes escapes), her front hair combed back over the bands of the sphendone sometimes in waved locks, the ends of which in some cases lie in a row of curls: the treatment of locks and curls ranges from formal to free. Dotted circle.

¹ *Recueil Gén.*, tome i, fasc. i, pp. 178 seqq.: hereafter referred to as R.

Rev.—Sea eagle l., standing on dolphin : underneath, $\Sigma\text{IN}\Omega$ (inscription generally incomplete): beneath (α) wing, or (β) tail of eagle, letters (magistrate's name). Sometimes traces of incuse either circular or rectangular with the angles rounded off.

1. *Obv.*—Front hair in somewhat formal locks, ending in formal row of curls. Circular ear-ring of beads: necklace uncertain.

Rev.—(α) **A - -**

↓ Wt. 91.3 grs. Size 0.70. F.

2. *Obv.*—Hair as last: no ear-ring or necklace.

Rev.—(α) **ΑΓΗ**

(Cp. R. 20 with single pendant ear-ring.)

↑ Wt. 88.8 grs. Size 0.80. F. [Pl. I. 19.]

3. *Obv.*—Front hair combed back in two rows of formal curls: no ear-ring or necklace.

Rev.—(α) **B ○**

↑ Wt. 89.3 grs. Size 0.70. V. G. [Pl. I. 16.]

4. *Obv.*—Front hair in waved locks: back hair escapes beneath lower edge of sphendone: single pendant ear-ring: necklace uncertain.

Rev.—(α) **Γ ○**

(Cp. R. 20 without necklace.)

↓ Wt. 93.2 grs. Size 0.75. G. (two cuts).

5. *Obv.*—Hair as last, but three curls form a sort of top-knot above the forehead: single pendant ear-ring and necklace (?); same die as No. 6.

Rev.—(α) **Γ ○²**

Trace of circular incuse.

(Cp. R. 20 without necklace.)

↓ Wt. 90.1 grs. Size 0.85. G.

² A dot beneath a letter indicates that it is nearly, though not quite, certain; a question-mark, that it is doubtful.

6. *Obv.*—As last, same die.

Rev.—(a) Γ \circ
(β) Φ

(Cp. R. 35 with $\Gamma^{\circ}/\text{E}\Gamma$ and triple pendant ear-ring and necklace.)

↓ Wt. 88.3 grs. Size 0.80. F. [PL I. 28.]

7. *Obv.*—Hair as last, but without top-knot: single pendant ear-ring and necklace.

Rev.—(a) Γ \circ
(β) Ω

(Cp. R. 35 with $\Gamma^{\circ}/\text{E}\Gamma$ and triple pendant ear-ring and necklace.)

↓ Wt. 88.4 grs. Size 0.75. G. [PL I. 27.]

8. *Obv.*—Front hair combed straight back: no ear-ring or necklace.

Rev.—(a) ΔH

↑ Wt. 89.9 grs. Size 0.80. G. [PL I. 12.]

9. *Obv.*—Hair curls freely over bands of sphendone in front, and escapes about its upper edge behind: no ear-ring or necklace.

Rev.—(a) ΔH

Trace of circular incuse.

↑ Wt. 89.6 grs. Size 0.75. F. (one cut).
[PL I. 14 (*obv.*).]

10. *Obv.*—Front hair in heavy locks: single pendant ear-ring and necklace (?).

Rev.—(a) ΔH

↑ Wt. 86.9 grs. Size 0.75. V. G.
[PL I. 13 (*obv.*).]

11. *Obv.*—Locks of front hair ending in formal row of curls: no ear-ring or necklace.

Rev.—(a) $\Delta\text{!}\text{Q}$

(Cp. R. 20 with ear-ring.)

↓ Wt. 90.9 grs. Size 0.75. F.

12. *Obv.*—Front hair in freely waving locks: no ear-ring or necklace.

Rev.—(a) ΔIO

(Cp. R. 20 with ear-ring.)

↑ Wt. 93.9 grs. Size 0.75. F. (one cut).

[Pl. I. 17.]

13. *Obv.*—Front hair combed back in somewhat formal locks over lowest band of sphendone, the other two bands visible; all three bands meet in a knot above forehead: single pendant ear-ring and necklace.

Rev.—(a) ΔIOΞK

↑ Wt. 90.1 grs. Size 0.70. F. [Pl. I. 29.]

14. *Obv.*—Front hair in somewhat formal locks ending in formal row of curls: circular ear-ring of beads and necklace (same die as No. 26, later use).

Rev.—(a) E [K?]

(Cp. R. 20 with single pendant ear-ring and without necklace.)

↑ Wt. 92.2 grs. Size 0.70. V. F.

[Pl. I. 24 (*obv.*).]

15. *Obv.*—Hair as last, but shorter locks: same ear-ring and necklace.

Rev.—(a) EK

↑ Wt. 90.9 grs. Size 0.75. F. [Pl. I. 25 (*rev.*).]

16. *Obv.*—Front hair in free curls: single pendant ear-ring: no necklace.

Rev.—(a) EK

(R. 20, same dies.)

↓ Wt. 93.4 grs. Size 0.75. V. G.

[Pl. I. 23 (*obv.*).]

17. *Obv.*—Front hair in somewhat formal locks: no ear-ring or necklace: stars on sphendone.

Rev.—(a) ΕΠΙΕ

→ Wt. 90.9 grs. Size 0.70. F. [Pl. I. 8.]

18. *Obv.*—Hair as last: no ear-ring or necklace.

Rev.—(a) **EPA**

(R. 18.)

↑ Wt. 88.4 grs. Size 0.70. G. [Pl. I. 4 (*obv.*).]

19. *Obv.*—Hair as last: no ear-ring or necklace.

Rev.—(a) **EPA**

(β) **HP**

Trace of rectangular incuse.

(R. 19.)

↓ Wt. 93.1 grs. Size 0.75. F. [Pl. I. 7.]

20. *Obv.*—Front hair in two formal rows of curls: no ear-ring or necklace.

Rev.—(a) **MI**

(Cp. R. 18, **MIKA.**)

↑ Wt. 92.0 grs. Size 0.75. V. G. (one cut).
[Pl. I. 11 (*obv.*).]

21. *Obv.*—Front hair in locks ending in a row of curls: no ear-ring or necklace.

Rev.—(a) **MOI**

(Same die as No. 22.)

(Cp. R. 19 with **MOI/Ξ**.)

↓ Wt. 89.7 grs. Size 0.70. V. G.

22. *Obv.*—Hair as last, rather freer: no ear-ring or necklace.

Rev.—(a) **MOI**

(Same die as No. 21.)

(Cp. R. 19 with **MOI/Ξ**.)

↓ Wt. 92.0 grs. Size 0.80. V. G.
[Pl. I. 20 (*obv.*).]

23. *Obv.*—Hair as last, but rather formal: single pendant ear-ring: no necklace.

(Same die as No. 24.)

Rev.—(a) **MOI**

(Cp. R. 19 with **MOI/Ξ**.)

↓ Wt. 85.5 grs. Size 0.80. F.

24. *Obv.*—As last. (Same die.)

Rev.—(a) **MOI**

(Cp. R. 19 with **MOI/Ξ**.)

↑ Wt. 86.8 grs. Size 0.75. F. [PL I. 22.]

25. *Obv.*—Hair as last: circular ear-ring of beads and necklace.

Rev.—(a) **MOI**

(Cp. R. 19 with **MOI/Ξ**.)

↑ Wt. 90.1 grs. Size 0.75. V. G.

26. *Obv.*—Same die as No. 14 (earlier use).

Rev.—(a) **MOI**

(Cp. R. 19 with **MOI/Ξ**.)

↓ Wt. 89.4 grs. Size 0.80. F.

27. *Obv.*—Front hair combed straight back (early style): no ear-ring or necklace.

Rev.—(a) **N!**

Traces of rectangular incuse.

(Cp. R. 20 with ear-ring.)

↓ Wt. 92.0 grs. Size 0.75. W. [PL I. 3.]

28. *Obv.*—As last: no ear-ring or necklace.

Rev.—(a) **Γ**

Trace of circular incuse.

(R. 17.)

← Wt. 94.7 grs. Size 0.75. W. [PL I. 2 (*obv.*).]

29. *Obv.*—Front hair in somewhat formal locks: single pendant ear-ring: no necklace.

Rev.—(a) **ΓΟΞ**

(R. 20.)

↓ Wt. 93.2 grs. Size 0.75. F. [PL I. 18.]

30. *Obv.*—Exactly as No. 20 (though different die): no ear-ring or necklace.

Rev.—(a) ΠΡ

Trace of circular incuse.

(R. 18; cp. Nos. 31 and 32—really ΠΡΟ?).

↑ Wt. 93.5. Size 0.70. G. (one cut).

[Pl. I. 10 (*obv.*).]

31. *Obv.*—Front hair curls more freely over bands of sphendone: no ear-ring or necklace.

Rev.—(a) ΠΡΟ

(Same die as No. 32.)

(Cp. R. 18 with ΠΡ.)

↑ Wt. 93.5 grs. Size 0.70. F. [Pl. I. 6 (*rev.*).]

32. *Obv.*—Hair as last: single pendant ear-ring: no necklace (re-struck coin).

Rev.—(a) ΠΡΟ

(Same die as No. 31.)

(Cp. R. 18 with ΠΡ.)

↑ Wt. 93.1 grs. Size 0.70. F. [Pl. I. 9 (*obv.*).]

33. *Obv.*—Hair combed straight back (semi-barbarous style): no ear-ring or necklace.

Rev.—(α) ΛΛ (*sic*)

Trace of circular incuse.

↓ Wt. 96.4 grs. Size 0.75. W. [Pl. I. 5.]

34. *Obv.*—Front hair in two rows of curls, back hair escapes beneath lower edge of sphendone, concealing ear-ring, if any: necklace.

Rev.—(α) Α, Δ, or Λ?

↓ Wt. 88.6 grs. Size 0.75. V. G.

[Pl. I. 26 (*obv.*).]

35. *Obv.*—Front hair in somewhat formal curls: stars on sphendone: no ear-ring or necklace.

Rev.—No letter visible.

(Cp. R. 17.)

↑ Wt. 87.3 grs. Size 0.80. F.

I may take this opportunity of mentioning the following coin, long in the Museum, though uncatalogued,

which shows an apparently unknown magistrate. It goes very closely in style with No. 29 (ΓΟΞ), and the coins of Datames, the obverse of one of which is given on Pl. I. 15.

36. *Obv.*—As No. 29.

Rev.—(a) ΓΑ

Traces of circular incuse.

↓ Wt. 90.0 grs. Size 0.75 (holed and gilt).

[Pl. I. 21.]

Have we really to do with a find? That all the coins have seen some circulation, that some of the most worn are by no means the earliest in date,³ and, above all, that they were purchased together with a piece of Antoninus Pius from Caesarea⁴ may make us hesitate: but the statement as to their origin seems amply borne out by their uniform appearance, the examples of community of dies, the relatively high number of previously unknown magistrates, and the comparative preponderance of the issues of two of the later, ΜΟΙ and ΓΦ.

Of the names, ΒΟ (No. 3), ΔΗ (Nos. 8-10), ΔΙΟΞΚ No. 13), and ΕΠΙΕ (No. 17) appear to be new to the series. ΔΙΟΞΚ must represent some such name as Διοσκορίδης. ΕΠΙΕ is a very rare combination of letters, and I can find no personal name of which it forms the beginning.⁵ 'Επεικίδης, however, occurs

³ Compare Nos. 4-7 (ΓΟ) with Nos. 17 (ΕΠΙΕ) or 19 (ΕΡΑ/ΗΡ).

⁴ As *B. M. C., Galatia, &c.*, p. 64, No. 153, but with ΥΠΑΤΟΣΒ instead of ΥΠΑΤΟΣΔ.

⁵ Pape-Benueker (*Wörterbuch*) gives the name 'Επεικίης as occurring once in an inscription of the Erechtheium, but I cannot trace it in the *Corpus Inscript. Attic.* or Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica*.

as the adjectival form of an Attic deme-name,⁶ and it may be suggested that we have it (or some mutation of it) here used as a personal name; *Γαργήτριος*, *Ἀρμαρεύς* or *Ἀρματίδας*, and *Θορικίων* are similarly derived from Attic place-names.⁷ A body of Athenians settled at Sinope after the Pontic expedition of Pericles⁸ (c. 450), and one of the families may well have adopted the name in memory of their old home. The coin is of somewhat early style (c. 400), and would fall within the first generation after the Athenian settlement.

Some coins (e.g. Nos. 4-10 and 34) show a freer treatment of the hair than has hitherto been found on the earlier fourth-century issues of Sinope, while the circular ear-ring of beads on Nos. 1, 14, 15, 25, 26, and the occasional necklace, seem quite new features for the period. The relative position of obverse and reverse dies is regular enough to allow the presumption that the coins were struck from "adjusted" dies. Most of the irregularities occur in the earlier issues (e.g. Nos. 17, 28, 33), and on the whole the tendency seems to be for the earlier dies to be adjusted to an upright, the later to an inverted position: in this point they agree with the later "dynastic" coins of the same types with Aramaic inscriptions, which, though often irregular, also tend as a rule to the inverted die position. That there is no hard and fast rule is shown by the use of the same die in both positions on Nos. 14 and 26. The later, freer style of several of the coins (e.g. especially the issues of **ΜΟΙ** and **ΓΟ**, Nos. 21-6 and 4-7) combines with various other considerations to

⁶ *C. I. A.* ii. 1226 d 3, &c.

⁷ Fick, *Griechische Personennamen*, p. 333.

⁸ Plutarch, *Pericles*, 20.

suggest a modification of the arrangement first proposed by Six, and since generally adopted.⁹ Under this arrangement the coins fall into the following groups:

General types throughout: *Obv.* Head of Sinope; *Rev.* Sea eagle on dolphin;

I. *Obv.* (415-370?), (α) without ear-ring or necklace; (β) with single pendant ear-ring, but without necklace. *Rev.* $\Sigma\text{IN}\Omega$.

II (370-362). As I (β), but with ΔATAMA , variously abbreviated, replacing $\Sigma\text{IN}\Omega$ on the reverse. Pl. I. 15 illustrates one of Datames' obverses.

III (362-322). *Obv.* with triple pendant ear-ring and necklace, (α) with, (β) without a plume in front of head. *Rev.* Aramaic inscriptions, variously mutilated, replacing ΔATAMA (Pl. I. 30-2).

IV (322-). As III (α) and (β), but with $\Sigma\text{IN}\Omega$ replacing Aramaic inscriptions.

Before proceeding, it will be necessary to sketch briefly, so far as it affects the coins, what little we know of the history of Sinope in the fourth century B.C. The city appears to have maintained its autonomy until the Revolt of the Satraps (c. 370). Datames had previously tried to occupy it, but was ordered by Artaxerxes to raise the siege. That he was successful in a later attempt seems proved by the coins of group II, bearing his name and the types of the city.¹⁰ This can only have

⁹ With some variations in particular dates; Six, *N.C.*, 1885, pp. 21 seqq.; and 1894, pp. 302 seqq.; cp. R., pp. 178 seqq.; Babelon, *Traité*, 2^{ème} partie, tome ii, pp. 1522 and 416 seqq. (here referred to as *Traité*).

¹⁰ One of these issues bears the abbreviation ΑΠΟ , which occurs also on the autonomous series (R. 18), indicating that he used the city's mint as well as its types (the last he might have done without occupying it); the fact that there are at least three

taken place after his revolt, and Sinope presumably remained in his hands until he was murdered in 362. The coins of group III show that subsequently the city passed into the hands of at least two Persian "dynasts", the latest of whom has been long recognized as the Ariarathes who also issued coins with his name at Gaziura, and who in the troubled times following the conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander tried to make himself independent in Cappadocia, but was defeated and put to death by Eumenes and Perdikkas in 322. The coins of group IV indicate that after this Sinope recovered some measure of autonomy.

It is generally assumed that group II, the issues of Datames, was immediately succeeded by group III with Aramaic inscriptions, and that therefore Datames was immediately succeeded by another Persian (whether as Satrap, "dynast", or what not) in his occupation of the city and his use of the mint. There seems, however, little ground for this assumption. The Aramaic legends (which are often so blundered as to be barely legible) fall into two groups, one (an obverse of which is figured on Pl. I. 30) reading עברסן¹¹ (Abdssn), the other (Pl. I. 31 and 32) ערירת (Ariawrath-Ariarathes). Abdssn has been identified by Six¹² with "Sysines", the eldest son of Datames, who betrayed his father's plans to Artaxerxes in 370, and whom in

other issues (R. 21) points to the occupation having lasted some years.

¹¹ Babelon (*Traité*, p. 423, would read the name עברכמו (Abrocomou—the otherwise known satrap Abrocomas), but the fourth and fifth letters seem both too plainly to be ס to be mistaken. In any case he also assigns the coins to the years immediately after the fall of Datames, so the argument remains unaffected.

¹² N. C., 1894, p. 302.

consequence he supposes to have been rewarded with his father's position. This is, and must remain, a highly ingenious hypothesis; though it may be submitted that after his treachery Sysines vanishes from our records, and that in any case Abdssn is not the same as Sysines. Whoever Abdssn may have been, it seems difficult, on stylistic grounds, to believe that his coins follow immediately on those of Datames.¹³ In style and fabric they are closely related to (though perhaps rather better than) the coins of Ariarathes, which accordingly they must immediately precede. The types which Ariarathes used at Gaziura are directly imitated from the last pre-Macedonian issues of Mazaëus, and some of his Sinopean issues show the same occasional use of a curious "punctured" style of lettering. It, therefore, seems probable that his earliest issues are to be dated not many years before the conquest of Alexander, and the bulk of his money may even belong to the period of his attempted independence, 328-322. Is there any means of fixing an approximate date for the issues of Abdssn which immediately precede those of Ariarathes?

On the coins of group III with Aramaic inscriptions, and on the succeeding autonomous issues of group IV, the nymph Sinope invariably wears a triple pendant ear-ring of unusual form, in which the two outer pendants are almost as important as the central one, while the bar from which they hang is of marked thickness. This form of ear-ring never appears on the

¹³ Six (*N. C.*, 1885, p. 28), before he had identified Sysines with Abdssn, placed the coins bearing the name of the latter "350 environ-333".

earlier coins (groups I and II).¹⁴ At the neighbouring city of Heraclea Pontica, the city goddess Heraclea likewise wears first the single, then the triple pendant ear-ring, and in this case we can date the change from one to the other with some accuracy. The coins of the tyrant Clearchus (364-352), and nearly all of those of his successor Satyrus (352-345),¹⁵ with this type show the single pendant, and it is not until the latest issues of Satyrus that the triple pendant first appears.¹⁶ Similarly, at Cyzicus Kore Soteira wears the single pendant on the earlier fourth-century coins of the Rhodian standard with the lion's head reverse,¹⁷ but the triple pendant (here in its more usual form with a short bar and slight outer pendants) on the great majority of the coins of lighter weight with the seated Apollo reverse type which belong to the last quarter of the fourth century.¹⁸ The rarer type of the triple pendant ear-ring also occurs at Cromna and Amisus-Peiraeus,¹⁹ always after the middle of the fourth century, but in the case of these cities we cannot trace the change of fashion as the single pendant does not occur. The analogy of other Pontic towns, therefore, would lead us to put the coins of Abdssn, on which at Sinope the triple pendant ear-ring first occurs, at the earliest to about the year 345, a date

¹⁴ For the coin of ΓΟ/ΕΠ with triple-pendant ear-ring (R. 34), see below, note 20.

¹⁵ *Traité*, Pl. clxxxii. 29-33 and clxxxiii. 1-4, 7, 8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Pl. clxxxiii. 5, 6.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Pl. clxxviii. No. 16-25 (except in one or two of the very latest drachms where the triple pendant appears).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Pl. clxxix. 1, 2, 5, 6.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Pl. clxxxiv. 1-4 (Cromna) and clxxxv. 8-15 (Amisus-Peiraeus).

which seems to me to suit their general style better than 362.

We are thus left with a gap of from ten to twenty years between the last issues of Datames (group II) and the earliest issues of Abdssn (group III), and it is exactly in this gap that some of the coins from our find would seem to fall. Characteristic details of the treatment of the head of Sinope on the coins of Datames are the dumpy single pendant ear-ring, the absence of necklace, and the somewhat formal arrangement of the front hair in locks. The same details are found on the coins of $\Pi\Omega\Xi$ (No. 29), ΓA (No. 36, not from the find), $\Delta A I \Sigma$ (R., Pl. xxiv. 20), which, with those of $A \Gamma O$ (R. 18), whose name also appears on the coins of Datames, would therefore fall about 370. On two of the coins of MOI (Nos. 25 and 26) we find a necklace, which hitherto has not been known on coins of groups I and II, though its use is invariable in groups III and IV; and on other coins of MOI (*e.g.* Nos. 21 and 22, though not 23 and 24) the treatment of the front hair seems later than on the coins of the Datames group. The same arguments apply to the coins of EK (Nos. 14-16), one of which is struck from an obverse die used by MOI , and to those of A (No. 1), and of A , Δ , or Λ ? (No. 34), while the coin of $\Delta I O \Xi K$ (No. 13), though of quite different style, shows the necklace and the top-knot into which the bands of the sphendone and the front locks are gathered on certain of the coins of Ariarathes (*e.g.* the Paris specimen here illustrated, Pl. I. 31). Finally, the coins of ΓO (Nos. 4-7) seem to be the latest with which we have to do. All have the necklace, and though they still show the single pendant ear-ring,²⁰

²⁰ The coin with $\Gamma O / E \Gamma$ at Oxford (R. 35), which I have not

some (*e.g.* Nos. 5 and 6 with the top-knot) bear a strong resemblance to the coins of Ariarathes just cited. I would suggest, then, that after the fall of Datames, Sinope recovered her autonomy for a period of about fifteen years or possibly longer, and that to this period should be assigned the issues of ΓΟ, most probably those of ΜΟΙ, ΕΚ, Α, and possibly of ΔΙΟΞΚ (Nos. 4-7, 14-16, 1, 34, and 13).

Some other points of interest in connexion with the find are perhaps worth noting. The earlier coins, with the initials Γ, ΝΙ, ΕΡΑ, ΕΠΙΕ (Nos. 28, 27, 18, 19, 17), show a fairly uniform style, both as regards each other and the previously known contemporary coins; but after them we find the most diverse treatment on coins of the same magistrate, *e.g.* ΠΡΟ and ΔΗ, each of whom offers simultaneous examples of the severer and later styles.²¹ There are at least three different styles on the coins of ΜΟΙ: the rather formal style previously known,²² the freer style of Nos. 23-26 (Pl. I. 22), with two different forms of ear-rings, and that of Nos. 21, 22 (Pl. I. 20), which seems to me to show strong Syracusan influence. For the interesting circular ear-ring of beads which occurs on Nos. 1, 14, 15, and 25, 26, I can find no exact parallel.

When was the hoard deposited? It contains none of the by no means uncommon coins with Aramaic

been able to examine, must almost certainly belong to this group; if it has the triple pendant ear-ring as described, it is only another indication of the nearness of the latest coins of the group under consideration to the issues with Aramaic inscriptions.

²¹ ΠΡΟ, severe, R., Pl. xxiv. 18, free, Nos. 31 and 32 (Pl. I. 6 and 9). ΔΗ, severe, No. 8, free (Pl. I. 12), Nos. 9 and 10 (Pl. I. 14 and 13).

²² R., Pl. xxiv. 19.

inscriptions,²³ and it seems a fair inference (though only from negative evidence) that it was buried before they came into circulation. We have seen that some of the later coins in it are closely connected with the Aramaic coins, and it may be suggested that the hoard was buried during the disturbances which would inevitably accompany the return of the city to the rule of a Persian overlord.

E. S. G. ROBINSON.

²³ It need not surprise us that it contains none of the very rare coins of Datames.

II.

THE COINAGES OF AUGUSTUS.

[SEE PLATES II, III.]

REGARDED as a whole the coinage, or rather coinages, of Augustus present a singularly complex study. That this is so is not surprising, since the half-century over which these coinages extend is one of the most complex periods of Roman history—an age of transition, of experiments and inconsistencies, while the great republic transformed itself into the still greater empire. All these historical features are strongly reflected in the coins.

The steps by which the imperial coinage grew out of the military issues of the later republic have been traced by Mr. Mattingly with great clearness and accuracy in an article on the "Origins of the Imperial Coinage".¹ This process was not complete until about 14 B.C.; meanwhile, the currency was largely of a transitional character, and abounds in numerous experiments. Mr. Mattingly's preliminary investigations form a valuable groundwork, upon which I shall endeavour to base the following study of some of the more important phases of the Augustan coinage prior to the establishment of the imperial mint.

At the outset it will be well to summarize the main outlines and divisions of the subject as follows:

¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1919.

- A. 44-39 B.C. *Rome*. Senatorial mint under quatuorviri monetales issued *N* and *R* with portraits of Octavian, J. Caesar, M. Antonius, and Lepidus.
- B. 42-39 B.C. *Gaul*. Military issues of Octavian, with portraits of J. Caesar, M. Antonius, and Lepidus. Moneyers: L. Cornelius Balbus, Q. Salvius Rufus.
- C. c. 40-29 B.C. *Gaul*. Autonomous mints of Lugdunum and Vienna for bronze.
- D. 40-29 B.C. *Gaul*. Provincial mints for *N* and *R*. [Contemporary with A-D are the issues of M. Antonius in Asia Minor and the East (44-31 B.C.); of Brutus and Cassius (43-42 B.C.); of Q. Labienus (40-39 B.C.).]
- E. c. 32-26 B.C. *Cyrenaica*. Military issue of Pinarius Scarpus.
- F. 28-19 B.C. *Asia Minor*. Provincial mints for *N* and *R* at Ephesus, Pergamum, and probably at Nicomedia and Nicaea (Bithynia), &c.
- G. 24-22 B.C. *Spain*. Provincial mint at Emerita under P. Carisius.
- H. 21-15 B.C. The "imperial" mint for *N* and *R*.
- I. 20-15 B.C. *Spain* (and possibly Gaul). Provincial issues of *N* and *R*.
- J. 23-21 B.C. *Rome*. Senatorial mint for bronze.
- K. 19-15 B.C. *Asia* (and neighbouring provinces). *N* and *R*.
- L. 19-15 B.C. *Asia*. Autonomous mint for bronze under the Commune Asiae.
- M. 19-13 B.C. *Rome*. Senatorial mint for *N* and *R* under the fifteen moneyers.
- N. 15 B.C. *Rome*. Senatorial mint for bronze. Moneyers: Sanquinus and Stolo.
- O. 14 B.C. Establishment of the imperial mint for *N* and *R* at Lugdunum. This continues till A.D. 37.
- P. 12-7 B.C. *Rome*. Senatorial mint for bronze.
- Q. 10-3 B.C. *Lugdunum*. Provincial mint for bronze under the Concilium Galliarum.
- R. 2 B.C.-A.D. 22. The provincial mint of Lugdunum re-constituted and probably affiliated to the imperial mint.
- S. A.D. 11 (onwards). Senatorial mint of Rome for bronze (without moneyers' names).

This chronological arrangement will be found convenient for reference in the course of this article, although somewhat simpler classifications might be suggested. Thus, it will be seen that under Augustus seven different species of mints were in existence :

- (1) Senatorial mint of Rome (A, J, M, N, P, S).
- (2) Military mints (B, E).
- (3) Mints in senatorial provinces (F, K).
- (4) Mints in imperial provinces (D, G, I).
- (5) Autonomous mints (C, L, Q, R).
- (6) The "imperial" mint (H).
- (7) The imperial mint (O).

It is not my purpose in this article to deal exhaustively with all the different series enumerated above, many of which have already received considerable attention from other writers. I shall, therefore, confine myself mainly to a consideration of the Asiatic series (F, K, and L) and the coins of the "imperial" mint (H). As to the other groups, it will be sufficient to refer to existing works, merely adding such brief comments as occasion demands.

A. The senatorial coins struck by the *quatuorviri monetales* (43-39 B.C.) are fully described and commented on by Mr. Grueber.² In his dating of the moneyers he follows de Salis, but it is questionable whether his arrangement is entirely satisfactory. However, as this does not seriously affect the main subject of this article, I prefer to leave the details for future consideration.

Although the distinction accorded by the Senate to Caesar of placing his portrait on the coins was an

² *Coins of the Roman Republic*, vol. i., pp. 554-594.

innovation, which was readily seized upon by the Triumvirs, it does not appear to have created a precedent, and several moneyers fell back upon the older republican custom of adopting mythological or commemorative types.

The coins of the period fall into three classes according to moneyers:

(a) L. Mussidius Longus, L. Livineius Regulus, P. Clodius, and C. Vibius Varus. These issued two series, one with portraits of Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus; the other with heads of Ceres, Juno, Sol, Concordia, &c. Grueber and de Salis assign Mussidius and Livineius to 39 B.C., and Clodius and Varus to 38 B.C., but the closely related style of their coins points to these moneyers having formed a quatuorvirate, and Babelon's date, 43-42 B.C., seems on the whole more reasonable.

(b) C. Clodius, L. Flaminius Chilo (43), L. Servius Rufus, P. Marcellinus (42), M. Arrius Secundus, P. Accoleius Lariscolus (41), C. Numonius Vaala, Petillius Capitolinus (40). On the coins of these moneyers no reference is made to any of the Triumvirs, and the types are purely republican in character. The dates in brackets are those of de Salis, but it seems more probable that we have here two quatuorviral colleges of 42-40 B.C.

(c) The moneyers Q. Voconius Vitulus and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus issued coins with the portrait of Octavian, but omit those of Antony and Lepidus. This was in consequence of the redistribution of the provinces in 41 B.C., when Antony went to the East and Lepidus to Africa. Thus, the date 40-39 B.C. appears more probable than 37 B.C., as suggested by de Salis.

After 39 B.C. the senatorial mint closes until 23 B.C.
 B. *Military issues of Octavian, 41-39 B.C.*³

Mr. Mattingly has dealt fully with the question of the military coinages under the republic, and with his conclusions I am in complete agreement.

On a matter of detail, however, I wish to draw attention to the small group of military coins with **S.C.**, struck by Octavian as Triumvir.

The coins are as follows:—

- (1) *Obv.*—**C.CAESAR.III.VIR.R.P.C.** Bare head r. with slight beard.
Rev.—**S.C** (in ex.) Octavian on horseback r.
Denarius (Coh. 243) [Pl. II. 1].
- (2) *Obv.*—**C.CAESAR.IMP.** Similar head.
Rev.—**S.C** (in ex.). Same type, but horse l.
Denarius (Coh. 246).
- (3) *Obv.*—**CAESAR.III.VIR.R.P.C.** Similar head.
Rev.—Prow between **S.C** (in ex.). Same type as preceding.
Aureus (Coh. 245).
- (4) *Obv.*—**CAESAR.III.VIR.R.P.C.** Helmeted head of Mars r.
Rev.—**S.C** (in field). Aquila between two signa.
Denarius (Coh. 248) [Pl. II. 2].

In the article referred to Mr. Mattingly gives numerous instances of **S.C** or **EX.S.C** on coins issued in the provinces by imperatores or their legati, all before about 80 B.C. From which he infers that the right of coinage did not belong to the imperator as a direct consequence of his *imperium*, but was merely permitted by the Senate as the supreme controller of the coinage. The disappearance of **S.C.** from the

³ Full descriptions of the coins assigned to Gaul at this period are given by Mr. Grueber, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 399 f. See also my article on the Mint of Lugdunum, *Num. Chron.*, 1917, pp. 56-58.

coins of Q. Metellus Scipio, P. Licinius, M. Eppius (47-46 B.C.), M. Cato, Cn. and Séx. Pompeius (46-44 B.C.) probably implies, therefore, that the Senate's right of control was disputed and finally removed. This argument is both reasonable and convincing. At first sight, however, it appears to be contradicted by the occurrence of S.C. on these military coins struck by Octavian between 41 and 39 B.C.

How are we to explain the reappearance of S.C. on provincial coins, and what is the relation of this particular group to the other military issues of the period?

Mr. Grueber attempts to override the difficulty by maintaining that the S.C. does not imply that these coins were issued in compliance with a special mandate of the Senate, but relates to the order given for the erection of the equestrian statue shown on the coins.⁴

It is impossible, however, to accept this explanation. In the first place, it does not hold good of No. 4 (with the aquila and signa), which clearly belongs to the series. Secondly, S.C. by itself, placed in the field or exergue of a coin, never refers to the type, but invariably indicates that the coin was issued by order or permission of the Senate.

The most probable explanation seems to be that this small group of coins belongs, not to Gaul, as Grueber and de Salis maintain, but to Northern Italy.

This being so, the appearance of S.C. on the coins presents no difficulty, nor does it conflict with Mr. Mattingly's conclusions. In the case of the military coinages of Eppius, Pompey, &c., it is easy

⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 400.

to see that the senatorial right of control was not insisted on, and was in all probability withdrawn, since the coins were issued in provinces more or less remote from the Senate's influence. Italy, on the other hand, was directly under the government of the Senate. Consequently, if Octavian found it necessary to issue coins for the payment of his troops while he was in Italy, it is only natural that he should have obtained a special permission from the Senate for this purpose, or at any rate that he should have acknowledged the senatorial suzerainty on his coins.

C. Autonomous bronze coinage of Lugdunum and Vienna, c. 40-29 B.C. Having already dealt at some length with this division of the subject in an article on the Mint of Lugdunum, I need not repeat the conclusions there stated.⁵

D. Gallic mints for gold and silver, 40-29 B.C. In connexion with this group, the only point to which I wish to call attention is concerning the mintage of the following:

- (1) *Obv.*—IMP • CAESAR • DIVI • F • III • VIR • ITER • R • P • C • Bare head r. with slight beard.
Rev.—COS • ITER • ET • TER • DESIG • Tetrastyle temple inscribed DIVO • IVL.
Aureus (Coh. 89). *Denarius* (Coh. 90).
 [Pl. II. 3.]
- (2) Same *obv.* and *rev.* legends, but on *rev.* Simpulum, aspergillum, capis and lituus with three coils.
Denarius (Coh. 91). [Pl. II. 4.]

The consular date fixes the issue of these coins in 32 B.C. Grueber, following de Salis, assigns No. 1 to Africa, and No. 2, which by its type and legend is

⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 1917, pp. 58-63.

connected with three other *denarii* (Coh. 128, 88, 111), to Gaul. However, considering that a rather uncommon form of legend occurs on these two coins, it seems unlikely that they belong to different mints, still less to different provinces. The style of portrait is unusual, and although the bolder portrait of No. 1 differs somewhat from the flat style of No. 2, the discrepancy does not necessarily imply a difference of mintage. If, therefore, we are to decide to which of these two provinces the coins belong, there seems little question that Gaul is the more probable. Moreover, on historical grounds it is difficult to suggest any district of Africa where, in the year 32 B.C., Octavian could have exercised control over a mint.

E. *Military coinage in Cyrenæica.*

The small series of coins issued by L. Pinarus Scarpus in Cyrenæica (circa 30-26 B.C.) comprises *denarii* with *obv.* head of Jupiter Ammon **AVGVR • PONTIF**, or open right hand, **IMP • CAESARI • SCARPVS • AVG**, **SCARPVS • IMP**, and *rev.* Victory standing on globe—**IMP • CAESAR • DIVI • F**, **DIVI • F • AVG • PONT**, **CAESARI • DIVI • F** (*B. M. C.*, vol. ii, p. 584, Nos. 4, 5, 6), also a *quinarius* (*ib.* Nos. 7, 8).

The coins themselves are rough in fabric, entirely devoid of artistic merit, and, to the collector, possess little attractiveness beyond their rarity. As regards our present study, however, their interest lies in the fact that they are the last examples of purely military coins.

Scarpus had been placed by Antony in charge of Cyrene, where he had issued coins in the name of his chief. But on the collapse of Antony's fortunes after Actium, Scarpus handed over his four legions to

C. Cornelius Gallus, the governor of Africa, with a view to gaining the favour of Augustus. Apparently his time-serving policy proved successful. At any rate, he continued to hold his governorship of Cyrenaica, and issued coins in the name of Augustus.⁶

We pass on now to a consideration of the various coinages of the reign of Augustus, and some of the problems connected with them.

The monetary policy of Augustus, as generally stated, was to make over to the Senate the right of issuing coins of the baser metals, while he retained for himself the control of the gold and silver. That this was the arrangement ultimately arrived at is unquestionable, but, as I shall attempt to show, it was only reached after a series of interesting experiments, and no specific date can be applied to the reform, or rather readjustment, which became the basis of the imperial system.

In his *Res gestae* Augustus states, "In my sixth and seventh consulships, after I had extinguished the civil wars, having by universal consent become lord of all, I transferred the Republic from my power into the hands of the Senate and Roman people".⁷

We have it on record that on January 13, 27 B. C., Augustus resigned in the Senate his office of Triumvir and his proconsular imperium, and surrendered all his extraordinary powers. The above statement of Augustus himself, however, makes it clear that the surrender was made on two successive occasions.

⁶ See Grueber, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 584; Laffranchi, "Emissioni militari in Cirenaica," *Riv. ital.*, 1918, pp. 169-171; cf. also Cass. Dio, li. 5. 9; Plutarch, *Antonius*, 69.

⁷ Mon. Ancy., *Tab. vi*, 18.

That is to say, Augustus either made a partial surrender of his powers in 28 B.C., or, as seems more probable, his act of 27 B.C. was a formal ratification of the actual surrender made in the preceding year.⁵ There can be little doubt, moreover, that it is this act of surrender to which direct reference is made in the remarkable legend **LIBERTATIS Populi Romani VINDEX** that occurs in conjunction with **COS·VI** on the Asiatic cistophorus described later.

It is impossible to state explicitly the nature of all the powers surrendered on this occasion, but it seems not only plausible, but extremely probable, that amongst other things included in the Triumviral office was the right to issue coins. That Augustus had no intention of permanently relinquishing the right, and, as a matter of fact, resumed it several years later, when occasion demanded, would have formed no deterrent to his making the formal surrender, nor is it the least surprising in view of the principles on which much of his policy was based.

However, the assumption that Augustus made a formal surrender of the right of coinage in 28 B.C. goes some way towards explaining several remarkable features in the numismatic history of the period which follows.

(1) It is evident that the Senate controlled the Roman mint in respect of gold and silver as well as bronze down to about the year 13 B.C.; and, although

⁵ It is not easy to estimate exactly the constitutional position of Augustus in 27 B.C. It seems clear that his surrender of extraordinary powers was a technical act of statesmanship rather than a sacrifice of actual power; and that, so far as his administrative position was concerned, he was in no sense the loser (see J. B. Bury, *Hist. of Roman Empire*, p. 23 f., full note with refs.).

it issued no coins of the precious metals after this date, the retention of the formula **A·A·A·F·F** on small coins struck as late as 7 B.C. seems to imply that the right to control all the metals still existed, at all events in theory.

(2) For the five or six years following 28 B.C. Augustus appears to have issued no coins of any sort on his own authority.

(3) The *imperial* or private mint of Augustus (*circa* 21-15 B.C.) was confined in its operation to the provinces; and at no time during his reign did Augustus strike coins in Rome, thereby preserving some show of holding to his compact with the Senate.

(4) The imperial mint, by means of which the gold and silver coinage was placed under the special control of the emperor, was fixed at Lugdunum (*circa* 14 B.C.).

F. *The coinage of Asia*, 28-19 B.C.

The first of the great post-Actian coinages to be noticed is the series assigned to Asia Minor and the neighbouring districts between 28 and 15 B.C. In the foregoing chronological classification I have divided the Asiatic series into three main groups, viz. (F) Asia Minor, gold and silver coinage, 28-19 B.C., (K) Asia and possibly Macedonia, 19-15 B.C., and (L) the bronze coinage of the Commune Asiae, 19-15 B.C. While preserving these divisions, it will be convenient to consider them in connexion with one another.

In more ways than one the Asiatic coinage may be regarded as an entirely new departure. In the first place, the style of the coins is essentially Greek, and in this respect contrasts strongly with that of the coins struck by the senatorial moneyers in Rome, or of the military issues of Octavian in Gaul and Italy.

Secondly, it seems pretty clear that the coinage was issued under new conditions. Prior to 31 B.C. M. Antonius had struck large numbers of coins in Asia, Ephesus being his principal mint; although there is no doubt that his coinage extended throughout the eastern part of Asia Minor and Syria. Antony's Asiatic coins belong almost entirely to the military class, and bear the names of M. Barbatius, M. Cocceius Nerva, and L. Gellius. Military coins had also been issued in the names of the conspirators, Cassius and Brutus, by P. Lentulus Spinther, M. Servilius, and Costa.

The Asiatic coinage of Augustus is in no sense military, nor do the coins bear the names of moneyers or imperial officials. It is, as a matter of fact, a very extensive coinage struck in a senatorial province, and intended for wide circulation, at a time when the senatorial mint of Rome was inoperative.

Recent research on the subject includes Laffranchi's *La monetazione di Augusto*,⁹ Grueber's *Coins of the Roman Republic*, vol. ii, and Gabrici's *La numismatica di Augusto*.¹⁰ Of these the most important is the work of Laffranchi, in which he attempts definitely to fix the places of mintage and the coins, or groups of coins, that should be assigned to each. Thus he assigns coins to Nicomedia and Nicaea (Bithynia) (29-27 B.C.), to Ephesus (28 and 20-17 B.C.), to Apamea (Phrygia) (c. 17 B.C.), and to Lycia (27 and 18-17 B.C.).

As to the coins that should be included in the Asiatic series generally, my own researches, conducted

⁹ *Riv. ital.*, 1916, pp. 209-222.

¹⁰ *Studi e materiali*, vol. ii, pp. 148-171.

quite independently, have led to a result almost identical with Laffranchi's. But on the questions of date and particularization of the mints I find that I cannot entirely accept his conclusions.

The differences of style observable in the coins of Asia clearly point to the operation of several mints.

The mint of Ephesus may be taken for granted, and so, I think, may that of Pergamum, although Laffranchi does not allow it. That coins were struck at Nicomedia and Nicaea in Bithynia is more than probable, and that some may have been struck in Phrygia and Lycia is conceivable.

But before stating such conclusions as I have arrived at on the subject, a brief examination of Laffranchi's method may not be out of place.

As is well known, the local bronze coins of Asia for the most part bear the names of their places of mintage. This Laffranchi takes as his basis, and when a gold or silver coin shows any stylistic resemblance to the bronze he determines its place of mintage accordingly. Although this method justifies a probability as to mintage it is by no means conclusive. The gold and silver currency of Asia was not only abundant, but was widely circulated. It is quite conceivable, therefore, that a coin struck, let us say, at Ephesus circulated through a neighbouring province such as Bithynia, where it was copied more or less faithfully by the issuers of the local bronze. I merely suggest this as an hypothesis, but I cannot help thinking that something of the kind actually happened, and, moreover, a critical examination of the style of the Asiatic coins forcibly suggests that there was some overlapping of the mints. It is when Laffranchi

applies his principle to particular examples that one feels less convinced of its soundness.

The coins comprised in the Asiatic series may be grouped as follows:

Class 1. 28-26 B.C.

Cistophorus.

Obv.—IMP·CAESAR·DIVI·F·COS·VI·LIBERTAS·PR·VINDEX. Laur. head r.

Rev.—PAX. Peace standing. Cista mystica. Surrounded by wreath (Coh. 218), *B. M. C.* 248. [Pl. II. 5.]

Denarii.

Obv.—CAESAR·COS·VI. Bare head r. or l. (lituus).

Rev.—AEGVPTO CAPTA. Crocodile (Coh. 2, 3), [Pl. II. 6.]

Obv.—CAESAR·DIVI·F·COS·VI. Bare head (capricorn).

Rev.—Similar (Coh. 4).

Quinarius.

Obv.—CAESAR·IMP·VII.

Rev.—ASIA·RECEPTA. Victory on Cista (Coh. 14).

Aurei.

Obv.—CAESAR·DIVI·F·COS·VII. Bare head (capricorn).

Rev.—AEGVPT·CAPTA. Crocodile (Coh. 1).

Obv.—CAESAR·COS·VII·CIVIBVS·SERVATEIS.

Rev.—AVGVSTVS. Eagle on wreath. In field S·C. (Coh. 30). [Pl. II. 10.]

Although the *cistophorus*¹¹ (Coh. 218) is naturally placed first in the Asiatic series of Augustus, its style

¹¹ The term "medallion", sometimes applied to these coins, is inappropriate since it is evident that they formed part of the regular currency with an exchange value of 3 *denarii*. They appear, moreover, to have been issued in considerable quantities and generally show signs of wear. On their relation to the older *cistophori* see Grueber, *Rom. Rep.*, vol. ii, p. 502, and Hill, *Hist. Rom. Coins*, p. 143.

connects it far more closely with the *cistophori* of Antony; so that it should more properly be regarded as a transitional coin between the issues of Antony and the newer Asiatic coinage of Augustus. Note, for example, the long and rather crowded obverse legend, and the crudely executed figure of Pax [Pl. II. 5]. In contrast to this, the Asiatic coins after 23 B.C. are characterized by the absence of obverse legends or by legends of the simplest description, and the reverse types are executed in a thoroughly artistic manner. A further link between this *cistophorus* and the earlier coinage is the *cista mystica*, a time-honoured type which henceforth disappears from the *cistophori* of Augustus.

The other coins of this group are far from uniform in style. The *denarius* (Coh. 2) is most closely related to the *cistophorus* (Coh. 218). The style of Coh. 4 is quite distinct, and corresponds to that of some of the *denarii* of Class 7 (a) and the bronze with C.A. The portrait on the *aureus* (Coh. 30) approximates to the style of the later undated coins, and is probably the latest of this group.

After 26 B.C. it seems clear that there is a distinct break in the coinage. A change in the style of the coins is observable, and the next dated group belongs to 20 B.C. It is probable, however, that a considerable proportion of the *undated* coins was issued before this year—possibly as early as 23 B.C. Nevertheless, there is an interval of two or three years before the newer coinage begins.

It seems probable that the coins included in Class 1 should be regarded as an issue made in a senatorial province independently of Augustus. The question

naturally arises whether the Asiatic coins struck after 23 B.C. (Classes 2-7) were issued under similar conditions, or whether they were controlled by the emperor. Gabrieli suggests the latter, and connects them with the visit of Augustus to Achaia and Asia in the years 22 and 20 B.C. It is quite conceivable that the presence of the emperor in a province may have had the effect of increasing the activity of the local mints, but since Augustus possessed a private mint, described as the "imperial" mint, which he seems to have moved from place to place as occasion demanded, it is quite open to question whether his presence had any real effect on local or provincial mints.

The Asiatic coins, however, are very distinctive in their style, and cannot be linked up with the equally distinctive coins of the "imperial" mint. It is, of course, possible that the "imperial" mint may have worked in Asia about 20 B.C., but I am strongly of the opinion that the seven classes of coins here assigned to Asia form a great provincial coinage entirely uncontrolled by Augustus.

Class 2. Undated cistophori.

Obv.—IMP·CAESAR (below). Bare head r.; linear circle.

Rev.—AVGVSTVS (above). Altar of Diana (Coh. 33). [Pl. II. 7.]

Rev.—AVGVSTVS (below). Capricorn (Coh. 16).

Class 3. Dated cistophori. 19 B.C.

Obv.—IMP·IX·TR·PO·V (below). Bare head r.; linear circle.

Rev.—COM·ASIAE. Hexastyle temple, the architrave inscribed ROM·ET·AVGVST (Coh. 86). [Pl. II. 8.]

Rev.—**MART-VLTO.** Circular temple (Coh. 202).

Rev.—Triumphal arch inscribed **IMP·IX·TR·PO·V**

in centre { **S·P·Q·R**
SIGNIS (Coh. 298). [Pl. II. 9.]
RECEPTIS

In addition to the above, Grueber and Gabrici include in the Asiatic series the following *cistophori*:—

Obv.—**IMP·CAESAR** (downwards). Bare head r., sometimes with lituus; dotted circle.

Rev.—**AVCVSTVS**, Sphinx (Coh. 31). Six ears of corn (Coh. 32). Capricorn (Coh. 16).

However, the outspread style of portrait on these coins and the peculiarly flat style always found in conjunction with the Sphinx type (Coh. 31) denote almost certainly that the coins do not belong to the province of Asia, but may have been struck in Syria, as Laffranchi maintains.

The two styles of portrait found on *aurei* and *denarii* correspond with that which accompanies the *Altar of Diana* type (Coh. 33) and that which is characteristic of the dated group. The former seems naturally connected with Ephesus, and the latter, especially when associated with the **COM-ASIAE** type, to Pergamum. These two styles may therefore be considered as the criteria for assigning the coins of the two following classes to Asia.

Class 4. Undated aurei and denarii.

(a) *Obv.*—Bare head of Augustus. *Rev.* **CAESAR·DIVI·F.** Reverse types as follows:

A. Peace standing with olive and cornucopiae (Coh. 69).

Mercury seated with lyre (Coh. 61).

Venus standing by column (Coh. 62, 63).

Victory on globe (Coh. 64, 65, 66). [Pl. II. 14.]

- A.* Victory driving biga (Coh. 67, 68).
 Quadriga surmounted with small quadriga
 (Coh. 76, 77).
 Augustus on horseback (Coh. 73). [PL II. 11.]

(b) *R.* *Obv.*—Bust of Victory. *Rev.* Neptune (same legend)
 (Coh. 60).

Obv.—Head of Venus. *Rev.* Augustus standing
 (Coh. 72).

Obv.—Head of Venus. *Rev.* Augustus running l.
 (Coh. 70, 71). [PL II. 15.]

Obv.—Victory standing on prow. *Rev.* Augustus
 in slow quadriga (Coh. 75).

Class 5.

(a) *Obv.*—Bare head of Augustus. *Rev.* IMP·CAESAR.
 Reverse types as follows:

A. Victory facing, on globe (Coh. 113).
 Naval trophy (Coh. 118).

A. " " (Coh. 119, 120).
 Temple adorned with Victory, &c. (Coh. 122).
 Term surmounted with head of Augustus
 (Coh. 114). [PL II. 12.]
 Triumphal arch with quadriga (Coh. 123).

Obv.—Laur. head. *Rev.* Neptune on column (Coh.
 124).

Obv.—Laur. head (as a term); fulmen. *Rev.* Augustus
 seated and holding Victory (Coh. 116).

(b) *A.* *Obv.* Bust of Diana. *Rev.* Temple inscribed
 IMP·CAESAR (Coh. 121). [PL III. 17.]

A. *Obv.* Laur. head of Apollo. *Rev.* IMP·CAESAR
 Priest driving yoke of oxen (Coh. 117).

Obv. Helmeted head of Mars. IMP. *Rev.*
 CAESAR on circular shield (Coh. 44).
 [PL III. 13.]

Obv. Victory standing on prow. *Rev.* IMP·
 CAESAR. Augustus in quadriga (Coh. 115).

(c) *A.* *Obv.* Bare head of Augustus. *Rev.* IMP
 CAE·SAR
 DIVI·F

Buckler (Coh. 126, 127).

Mr. Grueber¹² assigns all the coins of Class 4, with the exception of the *denarius* with *Rev. Peace* (Coh. 69), to Rome 36-29 B.C. It is impossible, however, to accept this view as regards either the mintage or date of the coins. The style of portrait closely corresponds with that on the two *cistophori* (Cl. 2, Coh. 33, and Cl. 3, Coh. 86) noticed above (see Pl. II. 7, 8), and it is curious that when Mr. Grueber assigned the **IMP. CAESAR** coins of Class 5 to Asia it should have escaped his notice that in style, fabric, and general appearance they are identical with those of Class 4. The features of Augustus are regular and youthful, and the hair hangs loosely in slightly curling locks. The side muscles of the neck and the "Adam's apple" are carefully delineated. This style of portrait does not in the least resemble that found on any coins issued by the senatorial mint of Rome, which almost certainly ceased working after about 39 B.C.

It may be mentioned that the diameter of the linear or dotted circle on the Asiatic *denarii* measures 0.7 in. consistently, whereas the circle on the later coins of the Roman mint is 0.62 in. This is, of course, only a minor point, but it appears from such observations as I have made that in all the important mints a standard size was adopted for the coin dies.

Laffranchi assigns all the coins here included in Classes 4 and 5 to the Bithynian mints of Nicomedia and Nicaea, 29-27 B.C. If, however, we are right in assigning the *cistophori* (Coh. 33 and 86) to Ephesus and Pergamum respectively, it follows that most of the undated *aurei* and *denarii* belong to these mints.

¹² *Coins of Rom. Rep.*, vol. ii, p. 8 f. and p. 535.

The treatment of the portrait is in many cases not merely similar but identical. (See Pl. II; cf. No. 12 with 7, and Nos. 11, 14 with 9.)

As to date, Mr. Grueber considers that the legend **CAESAR·DIVI·F** belongs exclusively to 36-29 B.C., and **IMP·CAESAR** to 29-27 B.C. However, a careful comparison of the coins disproves this conclusion.

These legends, either separately or together, appear to have been the titular style commonly adopted on the Asiatic coins 28-19 B.C. On the earliest *cistophorus* (Cl. 1, Coh. 218), and also on the *denarii* (Cl. 5, c), the two are combined as **IMP·CAESAR·DIVI·F**; on the dated coins of 20-19 B.C. (Cl. 6) **CAESAR·DIVI·F** occurs in conjunction with **AVGVSTVS** and the imperial date.

There seems no logical reason, either from the nature of the titles or from the style of the coins, why the legends **CAESAR·DIVI·F** and **IMP·CAESAR** should not have been used simultaneously, since they clearly complement each other.

If the *denarii* Coh. 61 (**CAESAR·DIVI·F**) and Coh. 116 (**IMP·CAESAR**) are compared with the dated *cistophorus* of 19 B.C. (see Pl. II. 9, 11, 14) the resemblance in the style of portraiture is so marked that there can be no question that these *denarii* were issued about the same time as the *cistophorus*. Evidently, therefore, the issue of these undated coins of Classes 4 and 5 extends as late as 19 B.C.

It is somewhat more difficult to determine at what date their issue begins. Since their general style certainly places them after the transitional coins of Class 1, it is impossible to assign them to so early a date as 29 B.C.—as Laffranchi suggests. The portraits on many of the coins correspond with that on the

Ephesian *cistophorus* (Coh. 33), which Laffranchi assigns to 17 B. C. But, again, it is difficult to conceive that coins supposed to be separated by a period of twelve years should correspond so closely in style; and, further, it is very doubtful whether the legends **CAESAR·DIVI·F** and **IMP·CAESAR**, apart from the title **AVGVSTVS**, occur after 19 B. C.

I am inclined to think that the most probable date for the coins of Classes 4 (*a*) and 5 (*a*), and also for the undated *cistophori* of Class 2, is from about 23 to 20 B. C., since the reverse types are clearly post-Actian, and at the same time contain no allusions to the recovery of the standards.

The *aureus* and *denarii* with the heads of Victory, Venus, Diana, Apollo, and Mars, instead of the imperial portrait, described above under Class 4 (*b*) (**CAESAR·DIVI·F**) and Class 5 (*b*) (**IMP·CAESAR**), seem to possess some special significance, and might quite reasonably be regarded as a separate group. They exhibit a general similarity of style and fabric, from which it might be concluded that they belong to the same mint and were all struck about the same time.

The reverse types, with one exception, contain direct references to Augustus or his victories, the exception being the type of the colonist, or priest, ploughing with a yoke of oxen [At. Coh. 117]. The unmistakably post-Actian character of the types assigns the coins to some date after 30 B. C.; on the other hand, the absence of allusions to the recovery of the standards shows that the issue cannot be later than 20 B. C. Most probably they are contemporary with the undated issues of Class 4 (*a*) and Class 5 (*a*), though of different mintage from the portrait coins.

As to mintage. The *aureus* with bust of Diana might naturally suggest a connexion with Ephesus; were it not for the fact that rather curiously the identical type occurs on a bronze coin of Augustus struck at Amphipolis.¹³ [Pl. III. 18.] We have, therefore, a presumption, although not a certainty, for assigning this *aureus*, and possibly also the *denarii* of this group, to Macedonia. Moreover, in the type of the colonist ploughing, which stands apart from the rest of the reverse types, we can discover a certain appropriateness to the province of Macedonia, since in the region of Amphipolis Augustus established several Roman colonies, notably Philippi, Pella, and Dium.

Class 6. Dated aurei and denarii 20-19 B. C.

This group of coins, assigned by Laffranchi to Ephesus, refers to the political settlement in Armenia and the recovery of the standards from Parthia.

A. 20 B. C.

Obv.—**AVGVSTVS.** Bare head r. (or without legend).

Rev.—**CAESAR·DIV[I]·F·ARMEN·CAPT·IMP·VIII.** Armenian in pileus, standing (Coh. 56, 59).

19 B. C. Similar but with **IMP·VIII.** (Coh. 57).

Rev.—**ARMENIA·RECEPTA.** Tiara, quiver and bow (Coh. 13).

Rev.—**ARMENIA·CAPTA** (Coh. 11, 12).

N. Rev.—**ARMENIA·CAPTA.** Victory (Coh. 8, 9).

Rev.—**ARMENIA·CAPTA** (or without legend). Sphinx (Coh. 10, 333, 334).

¹³ I am indebted to Mr. Mattingly for bringing this parallelism to my notice. However, that similarity of type or style is not always a certain proof as to mintage may be seen from the bronze coin of Amphipolis [Pl. III. 18], on which the portrait is perhaps copied from an Asiatic denarius.

Rev.—**SIGNIS-RECEPTIS**. Capricorn (Coh. 263).

Rev.—**SIGNIS-PARTHICIS-RECEPTIS**. Capricorn (Coh. 256).

A. Rev.—Same legend in three lines (Coh. 255, 257).

Class 7 (a).

A. Obv.—**AVGVSTVS**. Bare head r.

Rev.—**IOVI-OLV** (or **OLVM**). Hexastyle temple (Coh. 182). [Pl. III. 20.]

Rev.—Laurel crown with prows (Coh. 335).

A. Q. Rev.—Victory standing on prow, l. (Coh. 328).
[Pl. III. 19.]

(b) *A. Obv.*—**CAESAR**. Bare head r.

Rev.—**AVGVSTVS** (above). Cow walking l. (Coh. 26). [Pl. III. 24.]

Obv.—**CAESAR**. Bust l. crowned with laurel or olive.

Rev.—Similar, but cow r. (Coh. 27).

A. Obv.—**CAESAR**. Bare head r.

Rev.—**AVGVSTVS**. Cow standing r. (Coh. 28).
[Pl. III. 23.]

Laffranchi assigns group (a) to Lycia, 18-17 B.C., and group (b) to Phrygia, 17 B.C. Gabrieli, however, assigns both groups to Athens, 20 B.C., and includes in his classification several examples that have no connexion with the Eastern provinces, but belong in all probability either to Spain or the *imperial* mint. Gabrieli's argument in support of the Athenian mintage of these coins is based mainly on historical inferences, but is not corroborated by the coins themselves. In the first place, from considerations of style it is evident that groups (a) and (b) do not belong to the same mint. Secondly, it is historically improbable that a Roman mint existed in Athens, since we are told that in 21 B.C. Augustus deprived the Athenians

of many of their privileges on account of the support they had given to Antony.¹⁴

The temple of Jupiter Olympius that appears on the *denarius* (Coh. 182) is not necessarily a representation of the famous Athenian temple,¹⁵ since temples to Jupiter Olympius existed in a number of cities. Suetonius¹⁶ certainly says that the Athenians decided to complete the temple of Jupiter Olympius in honour of Augustus, but the temple was not actually finished until the time of Hadrian.

The mintage of these coins must, I think, for the present remain a matter of conjecture, although there is little doubt that they belong to Asia or the neighbouring provinces. The coins of Class 7 (*a*) appear to have been issued between 19 and 15 B.C., and their style connects them with the bronze coins issued by the *Commune Asiae*.

The three examples placed together in Class 7 (*b*) are interesting mainly on account of their superb style and artistic workmanship, scarcely surpassed in the whole of the imperial series.

It seems reasonable to suggest that they form part of a special issue, and that the occasion was the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares* in 17 B.C. I do not feel justified in offering any opinion as to their place of mintage; at the same time, I find it impossible to attach much importance to the fancied resemblance between them and the local bronze coins of Phrygia, such as Laffranchi observes.

¹⁴ Cass. Dio, liv. 7.

¹⁵ A good deal of Gabrici's argument turns on this point.

¹⁶ *Aug.* 60.

L. *The "autonomous" bronze coinage of Asia Minor* (c. 19-15 B. C.).

Obv.—CAISAR. Bare head r. *Rev.* C•A within laurel wreath.

Æ² D (B.M.C. 251); ¹⁷ Æ² As. (B.M.C. 252).

Obv.—AVGVSTVS. Bare head r. *Rev.* C•A within laurel wreath.

Æ¹ (B.M.C. 265) [Pl. III. 21] Æ² D (B.M.C. 273); Æ² As.

Obv.—CAESAR. Bare head r. *Rev.* AVGVSTVS within laurel wreath.

Æ² D (B.M.C. 293), Coh. 34.

Obv.—CAISAR. Bare head r. *Rev.* AVGVSTVS within laurel wreath.

Æ² D (B.M.C. 292), Coh. 35.

Obv.—IMP•CAESAR. Bare head r. *Rev.* (as preceding).

Æ¹ (B.M.C. 291), Coh. 795.

Obv.—IMP•AVGVST•TR•POT. Bare head r.
OB

Rev. CIVIS within oak wreath.

SERVATOS

Æ¹ (B.M.C. 314, 315), Coh. 212.

[Pl. III. 22.]

Obv.—AVGVST•TR•POT. Bare head r. *Rev.* C•A within wreath.

Æ² As. (B.M.C. 316).

Obv.—AVGVST•TR•POT. Laur. head r. *Rev.* A•T C•A within wreath.

Æ² As. (Coh. 320).

The style of these coins leaves little doubt that they are of Asiatic mintage; and although the interpretation of the letters C•A as "Commune Asiae" has not been established with absolute certainty it is by far the most probable that has been suggested.¹⁸

¹⁷ *Coins of the Rom. Rep.*, vol. ii, p. 538 f.

¹⁸ For other suggested explanations see Grueber, *Num. Chron.*, 1904, p. 208 f.

It is probable that the coins were struck at more than one mint, since they exhibit minor differences in the style of portrait. Those with the reverse type **C·A** or **AVGVSTVS** in wreath certainly appear to be of different mintage from those with the obverse legend, **(IMP)AVGVST·TR·POT**. Laffranchi assigns them to Lycia on account of the style of portraiture, which closely resembles that found on certain imperial Greek coins of Lycia, but with such slender evidence as we possess the exact place of mintage of these coins must for the present remain a matter of conjecture.¹⁹

According to Mr. Grueber the issue of these bronze coins extends from 29 to 18 B.C., and, taking the variations of legend as his basis, he assigns the coins as follows: (1) **CAISAR** to 29-27 B.C.; (2) **AVGVSTVS** or **CAESAR·AVGVSTVS** to 27-19 B.C.; **AVGVST·TR·POT** to 19-18 B.C.

These conclusions as to date, deduced from the variation in the form of the obverse legends, are not corroborated, however, by the evidence afforded by the gold and silver coins of Asia.

The form **CAISAR**, which is evidently a provincialism, used by itself gives no real indication of date; and although the title *Augustus* was conferred in 27 B.C., it does not appear on any coins that can with certainty be dated earlier than 24 B.C.,²⁰ and on the Asiatic coins it rarely appears before 20 B.C.

The date of these coins, therefore, can only be determined from considerations of style.

¹⁹ On the denominations, weights, and composition of these coins see article on "The Roman Monetary System", *Num. Chron.*, 1918, p. 27; also Grueber, *Num. Chron.*, 1904, pp. 213 and 244.

²⁰ See coins of P. Carisius, § G.

On the C·A coins the head is rather long and narrow, and the hair, instead of falling in loose locks, is arranged symmetrically in close curls. The muscles of the neck are apparently not indicated, and the lower line of the neck is treated in a distinctive curve.

This style of portrait differs essentially from any that appears on the gold and silver of 28-19 B.C. (Classes 1-6), but closely corresponds with that of the *denarius* (Coh. 335) and *quinarius* (Coh. 328) of Class 7 (a), and the *denarius* (Coh. 28) of Class 7 (b). From this it may be inferred, therefore, that the issue of these bronze coins does not begin before 19 B.C., and probably continues till about 15 B.C. Laffranchi fixes the date as 18-17 B.C., although it seems reasonable to suppose that the issue was of somewhat longer duration.

This bronze coinage is evidently quite distinct from the ordinary bronze issues of the Asiatic cities; e.g. the legends are in Latin instead of Greek (with the exception of the letters A·T on one example);²¹ the denominations follow the senatorial model of *sestertius*, *dupondius*, and *as*, and the coins have no marks to show their place of mintage.

That this was a special issue undertaken by the *Commune Asiae* seems a plausible explanation. Further, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the dedication of the great temple for the joint worship of Rome and Augustus—a cult both political and religious—recorded on the Pergamene *cistophorus* (Cl. 3, Coh. 86), was signalized among other things by the conferring on

²¹ The letters A·T placed above C·A (Coh. 320) have been variously interpreted (see Grueber, *Num. Chron.*, 1904, p. 209). But for the present their meaning must remain uncertain.

the Commune the right to issue bronze coins, the **C·A** on the bronze being thus an abbreviated form of **COM·ASIAE** on the *cistophorus*.

It may be noted, too, that a parallel case occurs in 10 B.C., when the famous altar to Rome and Augustus was dedicated at Lugdunum, and the Concilium Galliarum forthwith inaugurated an issue of brass and copper bearing a representation of the altar.

Thus this bronze coinage of the Commune Asiae appears to stand on much the same footing as the Altar series issued under the auspices of the Concilium Galliarum.

G. The coinage of P. Carisius at Emerita (24-22 B.C.)

This group comprises the following:—

A. *Obv.*—**IMP·CAESAR·AVGVSTVS.** Bare head
r. or l.

Rev.—**P·CARISIVS·LEG·PROPR.** City gate in-
scribed **EMERITA** (or **IMIRITA**).

Rev.—Do. Trophy of arms.

Rev.—Do. Spear-head, shield, and sword.

Rev.—Do. Helmet and sword.

Rev.—**P·CARISI·LEG.** Victory crowning Trophy.

Æ^s As. *Obv.*—**CAESAR·AVGVST·TRIBVNIC·PO**
TEST. Bare head r. or l.

Rev.—**P·CARISIVS·LEG·AVGVSTI.** City gate
(as above).

Rev.— $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{P·CARISIVS} \\ \text{LEG} \\ \text{AVGVSTI} \end{array} \right.$

At first sight the coinage of P. Carisius in Spain looks like a mere recrudescence of the military issues of Republican times. But if, in working out this article, I have rightly conceived the policy of Augustus with respect to the currency, there seems no doubt that

in this somewhat inconspicuous series of coins we see one of the turning-points in the monetary history of the period.

The coinage of Carisius was an experiment skilfully devised in a manner characteristic of Augustus so as to prepare the way for a far larger scheme.

I have suggested as a probability that in 28 B.C. Augustus formally surrendered the right of coinage which he had exercised as Triumvir. Numismatic evidence certainly supports the view that for several years after this he issued no coins of any sort. But his policy in Spain demanded funds, and the fact must have become patent that an emperor is seriously handicapped unless he can control a mint. Augustus found it necessary, therefore, to reverse his ostensible policy of 28 B.C. without flagrantly breaking his word to the Senate. The method he adopted was to revive the privilege of coinage that had on former occasions been granted to imperial legates, taking care, however, that the coinage was under his control. Accordingly Augustus selected the newest of the imperial provinces, and one fairly remote from the capital, in which to make his experiment. The outcome was not merely the institution of a provincial currency in Spain, but, having made this first encroachment in the direction of coinage, Augustus saw the way clear for inaugurating his "imperial" mint.

H. *The "imperial" mint (circa 21-15 B.C.).*

It will be necessary to consider the constitution and characteristics of the "imperial" mint in some detail, since the very existence of this important development of the Augustan coinage has not been recognized by either Grueber or Laffranchi.

The extensive series of gold and silver here described as the "imperial" coinage is assigned by Grueber to Rome (c. 27-17 B.C.),²² and by Laffranchi to Spain (20-15 B.C.).²³

The arguments against these conclusions, and the reasons in favour of regarding this very distinctive series as a special coinage inaugurated and controlled by Augustus, may be stated briefly as follows:

(a) Against the attribution to Rome, 27-17 B.C.

(1) The year 27 B.C. is certainly too early for the beginning of this series, since the types refer almost entirely to events after 20 B.C., and the consistent style of portraiture throughout the series makes it practically certain that the earliest coins of the series cannot have been issued much before this date. It is probable too that the issue lasts till 15 B.C.

(2) The Roman mint was controlled by the Senate, and, though it had been inactive since about 39 B.C., no break seems to have occurred in its constitution. That is to say, it was controlled by colleges of moneyers, whose privilege it was to place their names on the coins. In 23 B.C. the senatorial mint began to issue bronze, and about 19 B.C. it recommenced its coinage of gold and silver. Therefore, the main bulk of the "imperial" coins is contemporaneous with the coinage of the Senate. Hence it is impossible to believe that in Rome two mints for gold and silver existed side by side, each differently constituted and issuing coins of an entirely distinct character.

²² *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 19 f. Mr. Grueber appears to have no particular reason for assigning an early date to certain coins of this series other than the desire to fill the gap between 27 and 19 B.C.

²³ *Riv. ital.*, 1913, p. 150 ff.

(b) Against the attribution to Spain, 20-15 B. C.

Laffranchi is probably right in his dating of the coins, and notes the parallelism between certain types and those that occur on coins of the fifteen Roman moneyers. There is little question, too, that he correctly assigns certain coins to Emerita, Colonia Patricia, and Caesaraugusta; but the vital point, which he overlooks, is the essential difference of style that occurs between coins assigned by him to the same mint, although in some cases the types are identical. Thus, assuming that the "imperatorial" mint operated at a given time in Spain, it seems reasonable to suppose that not infrequently the coins were copied, in inferior style, by the local mints. As an example of this compare the two coins illustrated on Pl. III. 25, 26, the rev. type in each case being **AVGVSTVS**; capricorn with cornucopiae and rudder (Coh. 21). Of these No. 25 belongs to the "imperatorial" mint, while No. 26 is probably the local Spanish imitation.

It has probably been observed by every student of Roman numismatics that coins of undoubtedly Spanish mintage are almost invariably of crude style and irregular portraiture. It is *prima facie* improbable, therefore, that for a brief period in the reign of Augustus the Spaniards blossomed forth into a highly advanced style of monetary art, to which they never subsequently attained. The coins assigned to the "imperatorial" mint are remarkable for their beauty of design and fineness of execution, and cannot, therefore, be regarded as local Spanish productions.

(c) The constitution of the "imperatorial" mint.

The sudden appearance of so distinctive a series of coins, in style unlike the provincial coinages of Asia,

Gaul, or Spain, almost naturally points to its being of an extraordinary nature ; and since it is clearly entirely dissociated from the senatorial mint of Rome, the only reasonable alternative is to connect it with the emperor.

The experiment made at Emerita through the agency of P. Carisius had a twofold object—(1) to provide necessary coinage for the province, and (2) to serve as an initial step, or "feeler", before Augustus inaugurated a great coinage under his personal control. The "imperial" mint was technically much on the same footing as the military mints of the imperatores under the Republic. But the position of Augustus was essentially different from theirs. Thus the scope of the mint was not merely to provide military pay, but to furnish a universally accepted coinage for the Empire. In this respect it forms the great transition between the military issues and the imperial currency. It had in it all the essentials of the imperial mint, excepting only that it appears to have been moved from place to place, or possibly branches of it may have worked in two or more cities simultaneously, whereas the imperial mint as finally developed by Augustus was fixed at Lugdunum.

(d) *Characteristics.*

The distinctive feature is the portrait, which differs in style from any hitherto noticed on the coins of Augustus. The head is large, with the features regular and somewhat idealized—it is sometimes described as the "Apollo portrait". As a work of art it resembles the well-known Blacas Cameo in the British Museum, or the famous Prima Porta statue seen in profile. The chin appears rather small, and the neck, although somewhat lacking in dignified proportion, is carefully

modelled. The treatment of the hair is very distinctive. Note particularly the arrangement round the crown of the head with the ends of the locks pointing backwards. On Spanish or Gallic copies of these coins this peculiar mannerism is not as a rule reproduced, but the ends of the hair point downwards.

The types of the "imperatorial" series are as follows:—

(a) Bare head of Augustus r. without legend.

Rev.—**AVGVSTVS**. Capricorn with cornucopiae, &c.
[*N. Coh.* 20; *A. Coh.* 21.] [*Pl. III.* 25.]

(b) Bare head of Augustus r. **AVGVSTVS** (below).

Rev.—**S.P.Q.R.** Victory flying r. with shield inscribed **CL.V.** [*N. Coh.* 290.]

Rev.—**S.P.Q.R.** Victory facing with similar shield.
[*N. Coh.* 286.]

AVG-VST (across). *Rev.* Victory on globe.

[*N. Q. Coh.* 329, 330, 331.] [*Pl. III.* 27.]

(c) Bare head of Augustus r. **CAESAR.AVGVSTVS**.

Rev.—**OB.CIVIS.SERVATOS** within oak wreath.
[*N. Coh.* 207; *A. Coh.* 208.]

Rev.—Same legend above and below wreath.
[*A. Coh.* 210.]

Rev.—Same legend. **S.P.Q.R.**
CL.V. on shield in wreath.
[*N. Coh.* 214; *A. Coh.* 215.]

Rev.—**S.P.Q.R.** (across field). Victory flying r. places crown on a buckler inscribed **CL.V.** Behind column. [*N. Coh.* 288; *A. Coh.* 289.]

Rev.—**S.P.Q.R.** (above). Victory facing holds shield inscribed **CL.V.** [*A. Coh.* 287.]

Rev.—Victory facing holds shield inscribed { **S.P.Q.R.**
CL.V
[*A. Coh.* 283 var.]²⁴

²⁴ See *B.M.C.*, vol. ii, p. 23.

Rev.—**IOV-TON.** Jupiter in hexastyle temple.
[*N. Coh.* 178; *At. Coh.* 179]; (also with head l.
At. Coh. 180). [Pl. III. 28.]

Rev.—**IOVIS-TONANT.** (same type). [*N. Coh.* 184;
At. Coh. 185.]

Rev.—**IOVIS-TONANTIS** (same type). [*N. Coh.*
186.]

Rev.—**SIGNIS-RECEPTIS-S-P-Q-R.** Shield in-
scribed **CL-V** between aquila and signum.
[*N. Coh.* 264; *At. Coh.* 265.]

Rev.—**SIGNIS-RECEPTIS.** Mars standing. [*N. Coh.*
258; *At. Coh.* 259, 260.]

Rev.—**MAR** or **MART-VLT** or **MARTIS-VLTORIS.**
Mars standing in temple. [*N. Coh.* 193, 197,
204; *At. Coh.* 194, 198, 199, 201, 205.]

(d) Laur. head of Augustus r. **CAESAR-AVGUSTVS.**

Rev.—**MAR-VLT.** Two signa and aquila in temple.
[*At. Coh.* 192.]

Rev.—**DIVVS-IVLIVS.** Comet. [*At. Coh.* 98, 100.]

(e) Laur. head of Augustus r. or l. **CAESARI-AVGUSTO.**

Rev.—**MAR-VLT.** Two signa and aquila in temple.
[*N. Coh.* 189, 191, 203; *At. Coh.* 190, 192.]

Rev.—**S-P-Q-R.** Circular temple in which is a chariot.
[*N. Coh.* 278; *At. Coh.* 279, 280, 281, 282.]
[Pl. III. 29.]

Rev.—**S-P-Q-R.** Quadriga, &c., r. or l. [*N. Coh.* 270,
271, 273, 276; *At. Coh.* 272, 274, 277.]

(f) Laur. head of Augustus r. or l., without legend.

Rev.—**CAESAR-AVGUSTVS** above and below shield
inscribed **CL-V** between two laurel branches and
S P
Q R. [*N. Coh.* 50, 52; *At. Coh.* 51, 53.]

Rev.—**CAESAR-AVGUSTVS** between two laurels.
[*N. Coh.* 45, 46.]

Rev.—**CAESAR-AVGUSTVS** above and below
laurels. [*At. Coh.* 47, 48.] [Pl. III. 30.]

Head of Augustus crowned with oak.

Rev.—Altar inscribed $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{FORT} \cdot \text{RED} \\ \text{CAES} \cdot \text{AVG} \\ \text{S} \cdot \text{P} \cdot \text{Q} \cdot \text{R} \end{array} \right.$
 [N. Coh. 103, 105; A. Coh. 104, 106.] [Pl. III. 31.]

Rev.—Altar inscribed $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{FORTVN} \cdot \text{REDV} \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{C} \\ \text{VS} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{CAESARI} \cdot \text{AVG} \\ \text{S} \cdot \text{P} \cdot \text{Q} \cdot \text{R} \end{array} \right.$
 [N. Coh. 107; A. Coh. 108.]

(g) On account of their correspondence of type the following should probably be included in the "imperial" series.

Obv.—CAESAR·AVGVSTVS between two laurel trees.

Rev.—OB·CIVIS·SERVATOS within oak wreath.
 [N. Coh. 206.]

Obv.—S·P·Q·R·PAREN·CONS·SVO. Toga picta, aquila, &c.

Rev.—CAESARI·AVGVSTO. Quadriga. [A. Coh. 78, 79, 80, 81.]

In the above classification the coins are grouped according to the differences of obverse, although throughout the series the treatment of the portrait, whether with or without wreath, is uniform.

It is difficult to say whether these six variations (a-f) represent a sequence, or whether two or more may have been in use simultaneously. The earliest obverse style certainly seems to be that of the bare head without legend (a), which only occurs with the reverse type of the *capricorn*. This type appears to be a personal allusion to Augustus,²⁵ and so cannot be connected with any particular event. But as the style of portrait is practically identical with that of coins

²⁵ See Gabrici in *Studi e materiali*, vol. ii, p. 154 f.

of 19-18 B.C. it cannot conceivably be placed as early as 27 B.C. (Mr. Grueber's date).²⁶ Laffranchi assigns the coin to 17 B.C., although its connexion with the *Ludi saeculares* or *decennalia* is not very obvious. Since, however, among the "imperatorial" coins comprised in the Metz find (*vid. infra*) that with the *capricorn* was alone found in worn condition, it may be presumed that its date of issue is somewhat earlier than the **SIGNIS·RECEPTIS·** and **MARTIS VLTORIS** types.

The laureate head, with legends **CAESAR·AVGVSTVS**, **CAESARI·AVGVSTO** (*d* and *e*) is only found in conjunction with reverse types that clearly belong after 19 B.C. On the other hand, the bare head with **CAESAR·AVGVSTVS** occurs with several types such as **OB·CIVIS·SERVATOS** or **S·P·Q·R** *Victory*, which seem to allude to honours conferred on Augustus in 27 B.C., or **IOV·TON**, which refers to the decreeing of a temple to Iupiter Tonans in 22 B.C. At any rate, these types might quite conceivably have been used before 19 B.C. The legend **MAR·VLT** is found with both bare and laureate head, and since this coin belongs to about 18-17 B.C. we may conclude that it was at this date that the change of style from the bare to the laureate head was made on the coins.

The date of the laureate head without legend (*f*) is not quite easy to determine, since the reverse types with which it is accompanied seem to refer back to 27 B.C. In style, however, it rather resembles the head crowned with oak wreath found in conjunction with **FORT·RED** &c., which undoubtedly belongs to 16 B.C.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 19 f.

Certain types found on the imperial coinage are imitated on coins struck at various provincial mints in Spain, and possibly Gaul. These provincial copies are easily distinguished on account of their style, and in most cases the head is turned to the left instead of to the right. The following are examples:—

[Colonia Patricia]²⁷ Bare head of Augustus l.
CAESAR·AVGVSTVS.

Rev.—**OB·CIVIS·SERVATOS** wreath. *A.* Coh. 211, 213.

Rev.—**SIGNIS·RECEPTIS·S·P·Q·R**; on shield
CL·V. *A.* Coh. 266; *A.* 267.

Rev.—**MAR** (or **MART**) **VLΤ.** Temple. *A.* Coh. 195, 196, 200.
Laur. head l. **CAESAR·AVGVSTVS.**

Rev.—**S·P·Q·R.** Victory flying l. *A.* Coh. 291.

[Caesaraugusta.] Bare head l. **CAESAR·AVGVSTVS.**

Rev.—**S·P·Q·R·CL·V.** Shield. *A.* Coh. 292, 293.
Bare head r.

Rev.—**S·P·Q·R·OB·C·S.** Shield. *A.* Coh. 296.
Laur. head l.

Rev.—**DIVVS·IVLIVS.** Comet. *A.* Coh. 97, 99.
[Pl. III. 33.]²⁸

(h) The following *aurei* and *denarii* issued 18-16 B. C. form a distinct group:—

Obv.—**S·P·Q·R·IMP·CAESARI·AVG·COS·XI·TR·POT·VI.** Bare head r. or l.

Rev.—**CIVIB·ET·SIGN·MILIT·A·PART·RECV P**
(or **RECVPER**) Triple arch surmounted with quadriga, &c. [*A.* Coh. 82 [Pl. III. 35]; *A.* Coh. 83, 84, 85 and *var.*]

²⁷ In assigning these coins to Colonia Patricia and Caesaraugusta I follow Laffranchi, since the style of portraiture resembles that found on the bronze coins of these mints.

²⁸ Pl. III. 32 illustrates an obverse of this class with head to r.

- Obv.*—**S·P·Q·R·IMP·CAESARI.** Bare head r.
Rev.—**Q·VOD·VIAE·MVN·SVNT.** Triumphal arch.
 [A. Coh. 229, 230.]
- Obv.*—**S·P·Q·R·CAESARI·AVGVSTO.** Bare head
 r. or l.
 Same *rev.* legend and type. [A. Coh. 232;
 A. Coh. 231, 233, 234] and with legend between
 two arches [A. Coh. 235].
- Rev.*—**VOT·P·SVSC·PR·SAL·ET·RED·I·O·M·**
SACR. Mars standing. [A. Coh. 320, 324
 [Pl. III. 34]; A. Coh. 321, 323, 325, 326.]
- Obv.*—**S·P·Q·R·IMP·CAESARI.** Bare head r.
 Same *rev.* legend and type. [A. Coh. 322, 327.]

Though many of the coins of this group exhibit a style of portraiture which closely corresponds with that of the imperial series, certain specimens are of a distinctly provincial character. The distinctive feature which seems to connect the coins together is the **S·P·Q·R.** placed at the beginning of the obverse legends.

Laffranchi assigns all these coins to Colonia Patricia (Cordova). That the entire group belongs to Spain seems probable. But since two rather different styles are observable (cf. Pl. III, 34, 35), I am inclined to regard the coins in the style of No. 34 as having been issued by the imperial mint working in Spain, while those in the style of No. 35 are products of a local Spanish mint, possibly Colonia Patricia, as Laffranchi suggests. In support of this it will be remembered that Baetica was a senatorial province. If, therefore, these coins were struck at Colonia Patricia, the chief town of the province, the adoption of **S·P·Q·R** on the obverse is easily intelligible as a mark of deference to the Senate.

Mr. Mattingly has recently brought to my notice

von Sallet's account of a find of 258 *denarii* at Metz in 1881, which throws some light on the question of the provincial coinages of Augustus.²⁹

The find included a large proportion of more or less worn coins of Asiatic and Gallic mintage (**CAESAR·DIVI·F**, Coh. 64, 70; **COS·ITER·ET·TER·DESIG**, Coh. 91) and "imperatorial" mint (*capricorn*, Coh. 21); also a certain number in *fleur de coin* condition of the following types:—

Imperatorial.

- (1) **MARTIS·VLTORIS** (Coh. 205) **MAR·VLT.**
(Coh. 192, 194, 195, 199).
- (2) **SIGNIS·RECEPTIS** (Coh. 265).
- (3) **S·P·Q·R.** Victory (Coh. 291).
- (4) **S·P·Q·R.** Quadriga (Coh. 272).
- (5) **DIVVS·IVLIVS.** Comet (Coh. 98).
- (6) **OB·CIVIS·SERVATOS.** Wreath (Coh. 208, 210).

Spain.

- (7) **DIVVS·IVLIVS.** Comet (Coh. 97, 99).
- (8) **OB·CIVIS·SERVATOS.** Wreath (Coh. 211).
- (9) **S·P·Q·R.** Shield (Coh. 292, 293, 294).
- (10) **IOVI·VOT·SVSC·PRO·SAL·CAES·AVG·S·P·Q·R.** Wreath (Coh. 183).

Lugdunum.

- (11) Butting Bull. **IMP·X** (Coh. 187).

The Lugdunum coin with **IMP·X** (No. 11) 15–14 B.C., being the latest of the series, gives the approximate date of the hoard. Also it demonstrates pretty clearly that the other F.D.C. coins must have been struck very near to 15 B.C. They belong, that is to say, to the period immediately preceding the opening of the imperial mint of Lugdunum.

²⁹ The hoard is fully described in *Zeit. für Num.*, 1882, pp. 172–185.

From this hoard von Sallet argues that there was an extra heavy output of coins in 17-16 B.C. on the occasion of the *Ludi saeculares* and *decennalia* of Augustus. This in itself is probable, and, as we have seen, special issues in Asia appear to have been made in this connexion. Mommsen emphasizes the fact that the hoard supplies evidence that a distinct break in the coinage occurred after 27 B.C., and of this there is little doubt.

The F.D.C. coins belong to three classes of mints—(a) the imperatorial, (b) provincial Spanish, and (c) the imperial mint of Lugdunum. Of these (a) and (b) must have been in operation simultaneously, and (c) does not begin till 15 B.C.

Again, since there appears to have been an extensive issue from the Spanish provincial mints (18-15 B.C.), the probability is that during this time the "imperial" mint was chiefly located in Gaul. Some support for this view, moreover, is derived from the fact that Augustus paid his third visit to Gaul in 16 B.C.

E. A. SYDENHAM.

III

THE COINAGE OF OFFA.

[SEE PLATES IV-XII.]

ON THE DATE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF OFFA'S PENNIES.

THOUGH there is no documentary record as to when the silver coin known as the penny was first struck in England, it is commonly assumed that it was started by Offa when he first issued the money which bears his name.

Lord Grantley believes that no date can ever be found for the introduction of the *first* penny, and suggests that the *sceatta* lost some weight and gradually grew thinner in sympathy with the corresponding change on the Continent, or as he puts it, *the sceatta grew into a penny*.

The opinion of French numismatists is that a very similar procedure took place in the Frankish empire, to which we shall have occasion to refer presently, but it will be seen that as regards the Carolingian coinage there are several royal enactments extant ordering important modifications in it; we, however, are unfortunately without any such records relating to our own coinage of the same period.

So far as these observations are concerned it is beyond their province to enter into the subject of whether the penny or new denarius evolved in gradual

stages before Offa's time or not, and the question of primary interest is, when did he first issue the earliest of his coins which we call pennies?

From the coins themselves and from the Carolingian edicts certain side-lights are obtained which may put us in the way towards solving it.

Archbishop Iænberht's coins make it certain that the issue of pennies took place before 790/1, the year of the archbishop's death.

The next consideration is, within what compass can we limit the period of 36 years between the date of Offa's accession and the year 790/1?

Iænberht's pennies can scarcely have been struck outside Kent, and as they all bear Offa's name in addition to his own they cannot be earlier than 774, when Offa defeated the Kentish army at Otford, as otherwise Iænberht would have acknowledged the supremacy of Mercia over Kent at a date when Offa had not succeeded in obtaining it; this, I think, is an impossible alternative.¹

Mr. Keary in his *Introduction to the British Museum Catalogue* was of the opinion that Offa did not introduce his penny coinage until some years after his accession.

¹ To my mind the view that the Archbishops of Canterbury had coinage rights long before Offa's reign carries with it certain difficulties. Somewhat similar to the position of the Pope, the Primate's spiritual jurisdiction extended over a far greater area than the territory of the Kentings, and included amongst others the ancient kingdoms of East Anglia and Mercia. The rulers of Kent, if so minded, may have had it within their power to grant the right of coinage within their own realm to whomsoever they chose, but for London and elsewhere would it not require the sanction of others? Mercia, as a reconverted Christian state, was not paramount in Kent until Offa subdued it.

He makes this suggestion because of the existence of a very rare coin (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Pl. xiv, Fig. 1) bearing the name of **BEONNA REX**, who is believed to have ruled over East Anglia about A.D. 760, which he considers is *transitional* between the sceatta and penny series.

Unfortunately Beonna is one of the many kings of East Anglia about whom there is uncertainty in regard to dates.

I think it will be found that it was considerably later than the year 760 that Offa's pennies made their first appearance, and in view of the facts that they bear so many different designs, when closely compared one with another as regards the details of ornamentation (more particularly the trefoils on long slender stalks), and that almost every moneyer had two or three types which appear to have been exclusively used by him, there is every indication that several types were issued concurrently.

In fact the coinage of the short reign* of Ceolwulf I leaves no doubt that this was the case.

In Ecgbeorht's *monogram* issue we have for the first time any considerable number of moneyers employing the same type, and under Burgred of Mercia there appears to have been an attempt at uniform issues.

Multiplicity of types does not seem to have found favour in the Carolingian coinage.

The view that Offa's penny appeared at a comparatively late date in his reign is, I think, borne out by the evidence afforded from the moneyers.

A considerable number of them coined for his successor Coenwulf, and when trying to estimate a reasonable limit of time over which a moneyer might be

striking money, it should be taken into consideration that the permanence in service of a State official or servant, such as a moneyer, has its limitation other than that of bodily fitness to continue office.

Pepin the Short introduced the "novus denarius" into the Frankish kingdom, and its introduction is generally ascribed to the year 755, which was thirteen years before Pepin died.

When Charlemagne had established himself supreme, not only in France, but in Germany, the silver coinage based on the standard of the old Cologne mark entirely superseded the Merovingian gold, and by a decree attributed to the year 781, twenty-four years after Offa's accession, Charlemagne ordered that "on and after the month of August the denarius that bears our name and is of full weight shall be current".

Trade may, though perhaps not immediately, have created a desire that the currency of this country as a medium of exchange should be in its form more similar to that on the Continent, and as a result Offa decided upon reforming the coinage in the Mercian supremacy.

Attention must here be drawn to Offa's gold coin [PL IV. 7] which was acquired by the British Museum at Major Carlyon-Britton's sale in 1913, and which has been the subject of an important paper in the *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. v, by Major Carlyon-Britton, and another of equal interest in the *Num. Chron.*, 4th ser., vol. xiv, by Mr. Allan.

It is common ground of agreement that the piece in question is a blundered imitation of the dinar issued by Al-Mansur in 774. Major Carlyon-Britton holds to the views of Longpérier and Akerman that it was

actually one of the 365 gold mancuses which Offa promised in 786 to send each year to the Pope, and that they were struck for that particular object.

Mr. Allan, on the other hand, says that there is no reason to suppose that Offa's gold piece was struck for any special purpose, but that Offa, "having already instituted a silver coinage on the model of the Carolingian, now desired to have a gold coinage, and following the universal practice in such cases, copied the coinage that had suggested the idea to him".

He considers that Offa became acquainted with the dinar through specimens brought into England from the Continent by returning pilgrims and merchants, and also that amongst Charlemagne's presents to him it is highly probable that Arabic gold was included which he and his father Pepin at sundry times had received from the Caliphs Al-Mansur and Harun al Rashid; but nevertheless, Offa's gold coinage had only an ephemeral duration, as had Charlemagne's.

Charlemagne's gold coins bear the title of King of the Lombards, which he assumed in 774, and were therefore struck after that date. They may have been required for ordinary circulation in those parts of his empire where Byzantine and Beneventan gold was well known, but bearing in mind that the coinage of silver had replaced that of gold in the West, strong proof is required before it can be accepted that Offa revived a monetary standard which the Carolingians had suppressed, and before attributing to him a *regular* gold coinage it would be safer to wait until more of his gold coins have been discovered, preferably in this country or in company with something which would supply evidence of their being ordinary currency.

Though fully appreciative of the arguments which have been set forth in support of these divergent opinions upon the extraordinary gold piece of Offa with its combined Roman and blundered Arabic legends, I think it would be more comprehensible if it had been struck for some special occasion, at a time when the highly artistic abilities of those responsible for designing the pennies were not in full operation, that is, either before or at the inception of the penny coinage.

In the enlarged illustration of it which accompanies the catalogue of Major Carlyon-Britton's sale, it will be noticed that the letters of the inscription *Offa Rex* all end in ball terminations, which is very characteristic of the lettering upon certain of the deniers of Pepin and Charlemagne. Mr. Allan points out, on the ground of the blundered letters, that it was the work of a Christian moneyer who could not have been acquainted with the Arabic script.

It seems to me we have fair grounds for supposing that Offa was at first content with a sceatta coinage resembling that of his predecessors, and despite his ambitious nature and strong personality he waited until he had attained greater celebrity by his conquests before he introduced his penny coinage.

Whether this be so or not, when his penny coinage did appear it differed from that which preceded it in respect of the great and important innovation that not only did it bear Offa's name and title, but most of the coins designated him King of Mercia or of the Mercians.

The marked difference between the better-executed pennies with the bust, and those which, as will be seen

later, can with certainty be placed latest in his reign, as well as their dissimilarity in technique to the coins of Coenwulf, refutes Ruding's suggestion that the bust types are Offa's latest, although Offa's penny coinage may not have been of long duration.

A paper by Archdeacon Pownall prompted Mr. Keary also in 1875 to write his paper on the "Art of the Coins of Offa", in which he discusses and illustrates the contemporary coinages of southern Europe.

He points out that a steady and cumulative decline in art had been taking place in the entire sphere of the Italian coinage and that the idea that Offa had brought over Italian artists is out of the question.

On the other hand, the art of illumination from the fifth century had been rapidly cultivated in England and Ireland, and at the end of the eighth century had reached a stage of unexampled perfection and beauty; interlaced spiral designs are its principal distinctive features, and latterly a large pellet or boss encircled by dots is an ornament frequently met with in Saxon and Irish illuminated manuscripts of the eighth century.

Zoomorphic and the boss and circle ornamentations are to be found on Offa's pennies and also on the more artistic of the sceattas [Pl. IV. 1, 2], and Mr. Keary had no hesitation in endorsing Archdeacon Pownall's opinion that the designers of Offa's pennies were native and not foreign artists.

There can be no doubt that these native artists took coins of the Roman emperors as models for the representation of Offa's effigy, as the style of head and drapery is essentially Roman.

This copying is perhaps more marked in the penny

of Æthelberht with the wolf and twins reverse [Pl. IV. 4]. The better preserved of the two known specimens of this coin was formerly in Major Carlyon-Britton's collection and is now in the writer's, and its former owner's paper in the *Brit. Num. Journ.* makes it clear that it must be assigned to Æthelberht, King of East Anglia, the suitor of Offa's daughter, who was murdered in 793 or 794.

Charlemagne reproduced the Roman galley reverse, which is another contemporary instance of the copying of Roman prototypes.

Keary in his *Introduction to the Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, p. xxv, alluding to the fact that the Roman solidus probably still remained in circulation, says: "We have no reason to suppose that the Roman types on the pennies were (like those on the sceattas) in any degree derived from Roman *copper* coins"; and in a foot-note to p. xviii: "It is, for pretty obvious reasons, very rare to find the type of a coin in an inferior metal copied upon a superior metal. The reverse process is frequent enough. When a new coinage is issued, it is often desired to make it recall some more valuable issue which has preceded it, it is never desired to make a coin recall one of a lower denomination."

Coins of a remoter period, some of which still remained current, would by reason of being the worse for wear make bad models for a new coinage and lead more and more to degradation of type, of which the early British series is a very clear example.

In Offa's new coinage, however, we have a vast improvement and a return to a high standard of imperial art, and the question arises, what inspired

the designers of the coins to reproduce a king's effigy so much more life-like than that on the anonymous sceattas?

It is tempting to suggest that it was the spade which furnished models suitable for the purpose, and that some important hidden hoard of coins, whether gold or copper, fresh from the mint and unearthed in this country, came to Offa's notice, perhaps during the construction of Offa's Dike (778 or 784?).

It needs but a superficial examination of Offa's coins to be convinced from their technique and style that the same moneyer in some cases was supplied by more than one artist, and that one artist sometimes supplied more than one moneyer.

May we not therefore assume that the native die-engravers who were already in Offa's service were possessed of the requisite talent to produce the highly artistic coins which have come down to us, and that, with suitable models like those of the Roman emperors before them, they had no difficulty in infusing a more life-like and less conventional style into the king's bust than that which had hitherto been employed?

As regards Offa's money it will be observed that those pennies which are undoubtedly his latest issues show a decline in artistic style, which becomes more marked in the coinage of his successor Coenwulf.

In leaving the subject of the date when the penny was introduced I venture to suggest that the reform did not take place before the battle of Otford, perhaps even as late as the meeting of the Council of Chelsea, that is, between 774 and 786.

ON THE PLACE OF MINTAGE OF THE PENNIES.

As none of Offa's pennies bear the name of any place of mintage we have to consider where they are likely to have been struck, and in addition whether they were designed and produced in more places than one.

The late Sir John Evans, in describing the Delgany Find (*Num. Chron.*, 3rd ser., vol. ii), had little doubt that many were struck at Canterbury, and the compilers of the *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, in the summary to the Introduction, vol. ii, p. xxii, were of the opinion that the penny coinage of Offa was probably struck in Kent.

The more closely the coins are studied one with another, the more certainly the conclusions arrived at by Sir John Evans and Mr. Keary appear correct, and I think we might go farther in ascribing them to a very limited if not to a sole centre of issue, and conclude that either Canterbury or London, preferably the former on account of it being the greater centre of learning and culture, was the birthplace of the penny coinage.

In Offa's time there can hardly have been much necessity for many different mints, as was the case later when England or the greater portion of it was under the rule of a sole king and the fatal policy was adopted of buying off the Danes.*

There was certainly a mint at Canterbury in the reign of Ceolwulf, as the name occurs on some of his coins. The pall types in their many various forms on Coenwulf's pennies can with little hesitation be located

* Wessex, the neighbour of Mercia, it is generally believed, managed to do without a coinage of its own until a date subsequent to Offa's death.

as having been struck at Canterbury, and it is hardly probable that the coins of Archbishops Icenberht and Aethilheard were struck elsewhere; hence my preference for Canterbury as the place where Offa's pennies first originated.

Whilst suggesting a single or very limited area of issue for Offa's pennies, I would, however, wish to make it clear that this suggestion only relates to this king's reign, for under that of his successor Coenwulf there are coins of distinctly different styles of workmanship, and some of the moneyers' names are foreign to Kent, which leads to the conclusion that Coenwulf had a mint in Mercia as well as in Kent.

ON THE MONEYERS.

In the reign of Athelstan of Wessex we know that the moneyer was responsible for the true weight and purity of the coins he struck, and shortly afterwards, when the output of coins grew and more moneyers were at work, they had to indicate the place where the coins were struck, so that the interests of the Exchequer and public might be protected against forgery.

In Offa's time these conditions do not appear to have been so strictly enforced, for we have the instance of one of his penny types [Pl. VI. 1] being struck without any moneyer's name upon it (by comparison it belongs to Ealred [cf. Pl. VIII. 11, 12, 13]), and we have also the pennies of Archbishops Icenberht and Aethilheard, none of which bear the name of a moneyer.

There is also a peculiarity furnished by the pennies of the moneyers Eoba, Ibba, and Ealred which does not

occur on the coinage of any of the subsequent Anglo-Saxon kings. On the coins in question the moneyer's name is on the side with the bust and Offa's name on the other [PL VIII. 15; X. 5, 6; VIII. 13]. The same happens on Queen Cynethryth's coins [PL IV. 8-11]. This arrangement cannot, therefore, be accidental, and it would be interesting to discover why this was done.

It was not until the reign of Coenwulf that the qualification **MONETA** appeared on the penny. There are two different types of Offa's coins by Eadberht [PL VII. 7, 8, 9] with **EP** following the name (there is also one by Babba [PL VI. 5] with **OMO** in the upper compartment of the reverse) which is usually read as standing for the abbreviation of **MONETA** or **MONETARIUS**, which was very frequent in the reign of Offa's successors.

The sign **EP** on the Eadberht pieces, however, is so carefully done on two different pennies that it is tempting to interpret it as a monogram for *Episcopus*, and we find there was an Eadberht bishop of London, who died between A.D. 787 and 789.

It is generally admitted that in the reigns of the later Anglo-Saxon kings the dies were issued from a common centre except in times of emergency, and the opinion has already been expressed in these notes that such was the case with Offa's penny coinage, though it may not have been so under Coenwulf. If the coins referred to are really those of the Bishop of London, it does not exclude the theory that Canterbury was the place where the dies were prepared, as it would not be a difficult matter for the bishop to have got them, or even the finished coins, from Canterbury.

There is also a penny of Offa [PL X. 14] the reading

of which is given as **HEAGR** in the British Museum Catalogue. The reverse design is identical with a penny of Archbishop Icenberht [Pl. V. 4], and I suggest the possibility that the reverse inscription may be a blundered monogram of Higberht, who was bishop of Lichfield from 779 to 789, and archbishop from 789 to 803.

ON THE NUMBER OF MONEYS EMPLOYED.

From the pennies which the writer has been able to note it would appear that Offa employed between twenty-five and twenty-eight moneys. The exact number is difficult to ascertain, as it would seem there were different recognized forms of spelling the same name.

Even if the penny coinage of Offa only lasted a decade, there would naturally be many changes by death or retirement in the personnel of the moneys, but the fact that eight of them worked for Coenwulf is evidence that in the latter years of his reign he had a large number working at the same time.

The names of the eight were Babba, Ceolhard, Eoba, Ethelnod, Ludoman, Lul, Wilhun, and Wihtred.

Of the above, Eoba coined also for Heaberht, Cuthred, and Baldred of Kent; Babba for Ecgberht and Eadberht Praen; and Ethelnod for Eadberht Praen and Baldred.

With the exception of Wihtred they all struck the tribrach or pall type for Coenwulf.

In view of this large number being thereby located to Canterbury, there is certainly indication of the establishment of a mint there, and some confirmation of the opinion already expressed that Canterbury was

the central, if not the sole, place of mintage of Offa's pennies.

By following up the types which these eight moneyers struck for Offa, and by comparison with the coins of Coenwulf, Eadberht Praen, and Eadwald, we are enabled to decide which are Offa's latest and also to arrive at some approach to the sequence of his types.

We are fortunately further assisted by the coinages of Icenberht and Aethilheard, for although these archbishops' pennies do not bear the name of a moneyer they reproduce either on the obverse or reverse the same designs as were used by Offa.

ON THE COINS OF CYNETHRYTH [Pl. IV. 8-12].

Consideration of this lady's coinage has been purposely deferred, as it seemed to be more appropriate to discuss it when approaching the question of the classification of Offa's pennies.

The British Museum Catalogue designates her as "widow" of Offa, thereby implying that her coins were issued after her husband's decease. But their issue during the widowhood of Offa's consort seems hardly warranted, since her son Egfrith had been hallowed many years previously, and is said to have exercised sub-regal powers in his father's lifetime.

It is quite true that the central Ω on all her pennies is a very favourite design of Coenwulf, but though it does not occur on Offa's own money, it is used by Archbishop Aethilheard in Offa's reign.

Two alternatives suggest themselves, viz. that Offa, in imitation of the Roman emperors, accorded a com-

plimentary coinage to his wife, or that it was issued during a time of regency when he was either abroad or unable to attend to the affairs of state.

There is a marked resemblance in the style of the dressing of the hair to that on some of the coins of the Roman empresses, which rather adds colour to the first suggestion.

ON THE GROUPING OF OFFA'S PENNIES.

The British Museum Catalogue for convenience groups the early Mercian coinage into two series, viz. with bust and without.

Hawkins, with the same object, divides Offa's pennies into three groups, viz.:

- (1) The King's head with or without an inner circle;
- (2) The king's name written across the field in two or three lines; and
- (3) Ornamental types on both sides.

As regards the second group of Hawkins's classification [cf. **Pl. IX. 16**] we can, with every degree of certainty, place it as Offa's latest issue, but groups 1 and 3 offer much ground for discussion as to whether some of group 3 may not be earlier than some which fall within group 1.

There is a very peculiar penny of Offa, struck by Udd or Dud² [**Pl. VII. 6**], with a barbarous bust unlike that on any other of Offa's coins, but more approaching Coenwulf's in respect to the abnormally large eye and the very conventional style of the hair and drapery; this coin would appear to have been struck at a different period from the rest of the pennies with the

² Udd was probably the same person who coined for Ecgbeorht.

bust. Until the question is settled when Cynethryth's coins were issued, it would be rash to come to the conclusion that Offa used *solely* the bust type at any particular period.

With these reservations, I nevertheless suggest that the bust coins, if not the earliest, are very early issues of Offa's pennies, and the penny of the moneyer Udd is but one of the numerous instances of revival of design.

A more satisfactory classification of Offa's coinage, I think, might be arrived at by primarily dividing it into two main groups, viz. those coins which it would seem were struck down to the date (790/1) of Archbishop Iænberht's death, and the remainder during the tenure of the see of Canterbury by his successor Aethilheard under Offa (A.D. 791-6), allotting to these respective periods the pennies which have most resemblance to the types employed by either archbishop, and in addition the types derived from or connected with them.

For want of more appropriate names I propose to call them the "Iænberht" and "Aethilheard" groups.

Some of Offa's moneyers were more active, as regards variety of design, than others, and from the following list of moneyers of the two groups it will be seen that many appear in both groups.

The list, however, must only be considered as a tentative one.

IAENBERHT GROUP.

Alhmund (*a* and *b*)
 Alred (Ealred) (*a* and *b*)
 Babba (*a* and *b*)
 Bannard (*b*)

AETHILHEARD GROUP.

Ealhmun (. . chmun?)
 Ealred
 Babba
 Bannard (Beanneard)

Ciolhard (Cellhard) (<i>a</i>)	Ceolhard
Dud (<i>a</i> and <i>b</i>)	Cuthberht
Eadberht (<i>b</i>)	Deimund
Eadhun (<i>a</i>)	Eadberht
Ealmund (<i>a</i>)	
Eoba (<i>a</i> and <i>b</i>)	Eoba
Ethilvald (<i>a</i> and <i>b</i>)	
Ethelnod (<i>b</i>)	Ethelnod
Ibba (<i>a</i>)	Ibba
Heagr (<i>b</i>)	
	Ludoman
Lulla (<i>a</i>)	Lul
Oethelred (<i>a</i> and <i>b</i>)	
Osmod (<i>b</i>)	Osmod
Pentvald (<i>a</i> and <i>b</i>)	Wirvald (?)
Rendred (<i>b</i>)	
Udd (<i>a</i>)	Udd
	Wihtred (Regniht)
	Wilhun
Winoth (<i>a</i> and <i>b</i>)	Winoth

a = with bust. *b* = without bust.

ON THE IAENBERHT GROUP.

The main distinguishing features of this group are that the coins are invariably struck on small modules, the designs are mostly of a high artistic standard and of superior workmanship, and the lettering of the legends is carefully formed and sharp.

Though the actual weight of some of the known specimens is as low as $13\frac{1}{2}$ grs., and in exceptional cases some attain 20 grs., it would seem as if $18\frac{1}{2}$ grs. was the average original weight.

Those of the Aethilheard group, from being almost the same size, become towards the end of Offa's reign larger and thinner, plainer in style and lettering, and in their whole appearance more flat and similar to the subsequent Mercian, Kentish, and East Anglian pennies.

Apparently there was also a slight increase in the weight in the latter years of his reign, and this is what happened on the Continent, for the denier of Charlemagne reached the weight of 23.6 grs. in 774, an increase of 5 grs. since it was originally introduced by his father, Pepin the Short.

Only two distinct types of Iænenberht pennies are known, a significant point, considering the length of time he was archbishop.

(a) *Obv.* **OFFT** (or **OFFT**) **REX** in two lines divided by a beaded line, terminating at either end in leaf-shaped ornaments (which in one example are prolonged so as to form lunettes).

Rev. The archbishop's name and title around a rosette ornament of eight members (or a cross potent with a wedge in each angle) enclosed within a plain inner circle [Pl. V. 1-3].

This obverse design is usually described as the "double anchor" type, and it is not found on any of the coins of Aethilheard or Coenwulf.

(b) *Obv.* **OFFT** **REX** ingeniously arranged in the outer angles of a Celtic cross within which a compound cross composed of alternate sceptres and bars around a central pellet. In this design we have a variation of the double anchor of the preceding type.

Rev. **IENB** / + **ERHTA** / : **ÆP.** in three lines divided by two plain parallel lines, each terminating in a trefoil of pellets [Pl. V. 4].

Only one specimen of this type is believed to be known. It was found at Oxford. It is now in the writer's possession and came from the Murchison, Rashleigh, and Carlyon-Britton collections.

The coin is somewhat worn but nevertheless weighs

18.8 grs., and it is the heaviest recorded of Icenberht's pennies.

Archbishop Aethilheard used a very similar reverse, and it may therefore be assumed that the coin found at Oxford represents his predecessor's latest type.

Icenberht's two types afford starting-points from which the coinage of Offa may be considered.

The "double anchor" type is used on Offa's own pennies, viz. :

- (a) As obverse and reverse by the moneyers Dud [Pl. VII. 4] and Eðelvald [Pl. X. 3].
- (b) As obverse only by Winoð [Pl. XII. 9].
- (c) As reverse only by Alhmund [Pl. VIII. 4-6], and Ethelnod [Pl. IX. 12].

The "Celtic cross" ⁴ appears on Offa's own pennies, viz. :

- (a) As reverse (with bust obverse) by Ealred [Pl. VIII. 12, 13], and Pentvald [Pl. XI. 9, 10].
- (b) As reverse (no bust on obverse) by Pentvald [Pl. XI. 11], Eoba [Pl. IX. 8], and Higberht? [Pl. X. 14].

The last three moneyers all use with the Celtic cross reverse the same obverse design, which is made up of a *quatrefoil over a plain cross* terminating in a trefoil of pellets.

There can be little hesitation in fixing all the fore-

⁴ The Celtic cross design reproduces a type found on sceattas, *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Pl. ii, fig. 18; Pl. iii, fig. 25; Pl. iv, fig. 25. It is also used by the moneyer Wihtræd (Regnith), but apparently at a later date.

going as having been struck in the days of Icenberht, and the following are also assigned to the same period by reason of the sequence which can be traced through the combination of the different types.

The *quatrefoil over plain cross* obverse is also used by Eoba in conjunction with a *voided cross fleurée* design as reverse [PL. IX. 7]. The *voided cross fleurée* as obverse with the *serpent-wreath*⁵ type as reverse occurs on a unique penny of the moneyer Alhmund which was formerly in the Montagu Collection, lot 222, now in Mr. L. E. Braun's collection [PL. VIII. 7], and this reverse is also used by the same moneyer with the *small undraped bust* as obverse [PL. VII. 13-16].

It will thus be seen that the double anchor, quatrefoil over plain cross, cross fleurée, and serpent-wreath designs are closely interlinked.

Alhmund's coins with the undraped bust and the serpent-wreath reverse are perhaps the least rare of Offa's pennies, and they were struck from quite a number of different dies. Two forms of the letters A and D were used, viz. A and U, D and ʒ; the second form of each is used by the moneyer Ealraed, who also employs E for UE (Rud., Pl. iv, fig. 6).

A further combination of this small undraped bust obverse is afforded by another of Alhmund's coins [PL. VIII. 1], which I consider is of particular interest.

⁵ The serpent-wreath design, which is supposed to be symbolical of Eternity, has its prototype in the sceatta series (see *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Pl. iii, figs. 10 and 11), as has also the ball with a circle of dots ornament. There are other pennies of Offa on which the serpent device appears more prominently; these will be referred to later; it is just possible that on these serpent-type coins there is an allegorical allusion to the victory of Offa at Otford, in which year the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that fiery serpents made their appearance in the land of the South Saxons.

On this and on the *serpent-treath* penny the busts are identical. The head, as on all the undraped bust varieties, is partly surrounded by an inner circle (on one coin of LVLLA it is entirely enclosed in a lozenge frame); the hair is depicted as plaited closely to the head, and the shoulders are represented by two wing-like pieces with a heart-shaped object below. On this specimen a string of pearls can be clearly seen from which the heart is suspended. It may be intended to represent a jewel of the regalia.

The new reverse which this coin introduces is a plain cross beneath a beaded cross with lobe-shaped ends each of which contains a well-executed trefoil on a long slender stalk. It is to this minor embellishment that I would call particular attention, for it is found not only on Alhmund's pennies but also on the bust types of the moneyers Dud, Ealmund, Ealred, Lulla, and Ethilvald, and also on coins of Eadberht (*Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, Pl. vii, fig. 3), who is only known to have struck the bustless type [Pl. VII. 2, 3, 9; VIII. 2, 13; X. 1, 2].

If we compare the details and workmanship of these coins with the pennies which are here assigned to the "Aethilheard Group", and also with those of Offa's successor, Coenwulf, and his contemporaries, their superlative artistic execution makes it difficult to escape from the conviction that they emanated from a central designing office and mint, and further that the engraving of the dies must have been under the supervision of educated officials. This applies not only to these particular pennies, but also to the majority, if not all, of those assigned to the Iænberht group.

Returning to the *lobe cross over plain cross* reverse,

the moneyers Babba [PL. VI. 2], Dud [PL. VII. 3], and Ethilvald [PL. X. 2] supply a closely related variant on which the plain cross disappears, and the lobes remain cruciform around a large inner circle containing a rose-shaped ornament composed of alternate leaves and trefoils on stalks.

On some pennies of Dud [PL. VII. 3] and Ethilvald [PL. X. 1] there is a palm branch, the emblem of victory and peace, after REX.

The moneyers Eadberht⁶ [PL. VII. 9] and Ealmund [PL. VIII. 2] use the same central *rose-shaped* ornament, with a lozenge frame, which leaves little doubt that their coins were simultaneous issues, although Ealmund's has the bust and all Eadberht's types are without.

Lulla also encloses Offa's bust in a lozenge frame [PL. XI. 2], and the reverses used by him are merely slight variations of that used by Dud and Ethilvald, except that the lobes in the outer circle are replaced by balls surrounded by dots [PL. XI. 1, 2].

Upon one of Lulla's pennies [PL. XI. 1] the bust is clothed, but the head is clearly copied from the same model as the previous ones.

There is a somewhat similar coin of the moneyer Udd [PL. VII. 6], and attention has already been called to its crude fabric and the abnormally large eye, which has more in common with Coenwulf's coinage than Offa's. The pointed ends to the letters on the obverse are peculiar.

There is a penny of Offa that has the small head and inner circle which is struck by a moneyer named

⁶ This particular penny of Eadberht will again be referred to.

Oethelred [Pl. XI. 4], and is remarkable for the curious style of drapery, which is composed of two shield-like panels with chevron strappings.

The reverse is a *cross-crosslet voided* in the centre containing a cross upon a circle. Only one other type of this moneyer is known, which is illustrated in Ruding (Pl. 28, fig. 2); it has a similar reverse, but the obverse type is a cross upon steps, which was a favourite design on the Merovingian coinage and is also found on the sceattas.

The *voided cross-crosslet* is also employed by the moneyers Eadhun and Ealmund with the bust [Pl. VII. 11, 12; VIII. 3], and by Babba [Pl. VI. 3] and Ciolhard without.

The remainder of Offa's bust types may be classified as follows:—

Bust within an inner circle, the hair dressed close to the head, and the shoulders clad in well-defined imperial robes; sometimes there is a serpent above the head.

The moneyers who used this style of bust are—Ciolhard [Pl. VI. 12–15] and Rendred [Pl. XI. 13], with *serpent* reverses; Pentvald, with the *Celtic cross*⁷ [Pl. XI. 10]; and Winoth, with the *cross fleurée* [Pl. XII. 8].

Bust with hair and drapery similar to the foregoing, but there is no inner circle.

This style of bust is used by Dud with the *lobe and plain cross* reverse [Pl. VII. 1, 2]. On one the obverse

⁷ As already stated, the Celtic cross reverse is directly associated with Icenberht's pennies.

legend reads **OFFA REX MERCIORVM**; this extended title is also met with on coins of Eadhun [Pl. VII. 12] and Ealmund [Pl. VIII. 2].

Bust with hair dressed in puff-like curls or Saxon fashion, but the drapery is distinctly Roman in character; there is a long cross behind the head as on Cynethryth's pennies. There is no inner circle.

Only the moneyer Pentvald uses this type, and it has the *Celtic cross* on the reverse. On the king's breast there is a jewelled ornament [Pl. XI. 9].

Bust with curly hair, sometimes diademed and occasionally with a long cross behind the head. The drapery is conventionally depicted and of native style. There is no inner circle.

Moneyers: Ealred, with *Celtic cross* reverse [Pl. VIII. 12, 13]; Ibba, with *cross fleurée* reverse [Pl. X. 5-11]; and Eoba, Cynethryth's moneyer [Pl. VIII. 15].

Bust with the hair dressed in puffs. Drapery as on the last.

Moneyer: Eadhun, with *cross-crosslet* reverse, and on one the legend **OFFA REX MERCIORV** [Pl. VII. 11, 12].

Going back to the penny of the moneyer Ealmund with the *small* bust [Pl. VIII. 2], this penny was, no doubt, issued at about the same period as Eadberht's, with *obverse* the rose ornament within an inner circle and an outer lozenge frame, and *reverse* **EADBERHT** €P in three lines between two beaded lines [Pl. VII. 9].

Eadberht uses the same reverse in combination with an obverse design consisting of a *cross-crosslet* voided

in the centre by a circle containing a rosette of pearls⁸ [Pl. VII. 7, 8].

Ealred employs the cross-crosslet with rosette centre as a reverse on a penny in the author's collection [Pl. VIII. 14].⁹

With the *cross and circle* type just cited, I suggest that we reach the border-line of Offa's coinage, when Aethilheard succeeded Icenberht as Archbishop of Canterbury in 791, and his coins, which will be referred to hereafter, are those that were struck between that date and 796.

ON THE AETHILHEARD GROUP.

Six different types of Archbishop Aethilheard's pennies are known bearing Offa's name, and two with Coenwulf's; the proportion is remarkable, as he held the primacy for six years under the former and for seven years under the latter.

Sir John Evans, however, suggested that the three types which style him "Pontifex" instead of "Archbishop" were struck between his accession and the bestowal of the pall two years later.

Aethilheard's types under Offa are as follows:

- a. *Obv.*—OFFA REX MERC A star of six points botonné within an inner circle.

Rev.—AEDILHARD PONT As obverse. [Pl. V. 5.]
Found at Bedford.

⁸ Compare this rosette of pearls ornament with Babba's penny (Pl. VI. 3).

⁹ This penny of Ealred is closely contemporary with the Higberht penny with the *Celtic cross*, and with that of Eoba with the *roided cross fleurée* reverse (Pl. XII. 14 and IX. 5, 6).

b. *Obv.*— \diamond FFP REX MER \div Christian monogram within an inner circle.

Rev.—ΠΕΔΙΛΗΕΥΡΔ ΠΟΝΤ As obverse.

(Wt. 19.5 grs.)

Rashleigh sale, Pl. ii. 90.

c. *Obv.*— \diamond FFP REX M In three lines between and in lunettes.

Rev.—ΠΕΔΙΛΗΕΥΡΔ ΠΟΝΤΙ A cross-crosslet within an inner circle. [Pl. V. 6.]

d. *Obv.*—OFFP REX Between the limbs of a cross (potent) voided in the centre by a circle containing the letter \bar{m} .

Rev.—ΠΕΔΙΛΗΕΥΡΔ ΠΡΕ ΕΡ within a plain circle. [Pl. V. 7.]

(Wt. 21.3 grs.)

e. *Obv.*— \diamond FFA REX M In three lines divided by two straight lines.

Rev.—ΠΕΔΙΛΗΕΥΡΔ ΠΡΕ ΕΡ within a plain circle as before. [Pl. V. 8.]

(Wt. 20.3 grs.)

f. *Obv.*— \diamond FFA REX M In three lines divided by two straight lines.

Rev.—ΠΕΔΙΛΗΕΥΡΔ ΠΡΕΡ As obverse. [Pl. V. 9.]

(Wt. 22 grs.)

Aethilheard's pennies are generally struck upon broad flans, and are lacking in delicate ornamentation; the lettering is crude and flat.

The design upon type *a* has a resemblance to laenberht's penny with the double anchor obverse; but it is in types *c*, *d*, *e*, and *f* that we find some guiding similarities to Offa's own pennies, which help in deciding which may be considered as Offa's latest types.

I have suggested that the *cross and circle* design was issued about the time of Iænberht's death. It is found on Aethilheard's type *d* of the above classification, and it occurs on many of Offa's coins in various forms or disguises.

On those of the moneyer Eoba [Pl. IX. 1-4] the limbs of the cross terminate in either triangles or circles, and on two of them Offa's name is placed on a Roman standard or oblong beaded compartment, over which is a long cross extending from the top to the bottom of the coin. Their obverses appear to be of very much better execution than their respective reverses, and suggest that two persons, one more highly skilled than the other, made the dies for the same coin.

As Eoba used the same reverse for Heaberht, King of Kent,¹⁰ it would seem that these pennies with the standard, though a late issue, were struck when one or more of Offa's real artists were still employed as die engravers. Apparently this was not the case after Iænberht's death, judging by the coins of Aethilheard and Eadberht Praen, so these pennies may be considered as about their last products.

The standard design was evidently suggested by Roman and sceatta prototypes, and Major Carlyon-Britton, in his paper on a penny¹¹ of Aethelberht, King of East Anglia, who was murdered in A.D. 794, draws

¹⁰ *Num. Chron.*, 4th Series, vol. viii: this piece is in Lord Grantley's collection. The writer has a penny of Coenwulf, struck by the moneyer **PODEL**, with his name between the limbs of a beaded cross with circular ends, voided in the centre by a circle enclosing a pellet (Roth sale, lot 65), which confirms this design as a late one of Offa.

¹¹ Aethelberht's penny, which was formerly in Major Carlyon-Britton's collection, is now in the author's (Pl. IV. 4).

attention to the analogy between the compartment theme of Aethelberht's coin and the coins of Offa's moneyer Eoba with the label.

A penny of Eoba [Pl. IX. 3] from the Montagu sale (lot 216) combines the cross with circular ends reverse with the simple cross obverse with $\diamond F \& T$ in the angles; and this obverse has a companion in a crudely executed penny of the moneyer Alhmund [Pl. VIII. 8].

The remainder of Eoba's types will be considered presently, as there are several coins of other moneyers of Offa which it would seem were struck anterior to them.

Osmod used the cross and circle design as reverse [Pl. XI. 6], and this penny leaves little doubt that Osmod was a contemporary moneyer of Eoba and Ealred; nevertheless, he is not known as one of those who struck pennies for Offa with the bust.

Wihtréd, another moneyer of the *cross and circle* design¹² [Pl. XII. 1], adopted the cross with circle ends on the *obverse*, but potent on the *reverse*. The cross, however, is not voided by the central circle, but passes through it. The penny in question is remarkable for the fact that Wihtréd's name is entirely in runic lettering.

Bannard, or Beanneard, is another of Offa's moneyers who did not use the bust, and his three known types have the same reverse design on all of them, viz. his name enclosed in lunettes, with a beaded line between, usually terminating in a cross [Pl. VI. 7-10]. The lunettes associate him as a co-worker with Ethelnod.

On one [Pl. VI. 7], the obverse design is a double

¹² Montagu sale (lot 218), ex Brice collection, unique.

cross composed of a large central quatrefoil with a lobe in each of the outer angles. The quatrefoil and lobes are filled with little dots forming minute trefoils on stems, and for reasons already expressed this penny is perhaps earlier than the Aethilheard Group.

On another [Pl. VI. 9], the quatrefoil is greatly reduced in size and has become more circular,¹³ whilst the arms of the lobed cross traverse the quatrefoil so that the whole design is but a disguised cross and circle.

Bannard's third type¹⁴ [Pl. VI. 10] is important because it is allied to numerous pennies of Offa, to which reference will be made presently.

There are two very peculiar pennies of Offa which are somewhat difficult to link to the others.

One is a fragment in the British Museum [Pl. VIII. 10]. The reverse is a hexagram in the centre, at each point of which is a pellet surrounded by dots. The letters that remain of the moneyer's name are -- CHVM and have been read as intended for Alcmun (Alhmund), although this moneyer does not use C on any of his other coins. The hexagram design was used by Pepin the Short (Gariel, Pl. ii, fig. 32) and also on some sceattas.

The other is a penny in the Hunter collection [Pl. XII. 3] of the moneyer Wihtréd. The reverse design is a *voided cross fleurée*, and in the detail of the members of the fleurs it has much in common with the obverse of the fragment just mentioned. The obverse on Wihtréd's coin bears a cross of very

¹³ Compare the quatrefoil with that on Coenwulf's penny by the moneyer Duda (Montagu sale, lot 239).

¹⁴ *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, Pl. vi. 15.

peculiar form, and it would be interesting to know if it has any symbolical significance: as also the double-ended lobe or dumb-bell ornament upon the latest issues of the moneyers Ethelnod and Winoth. There is a sceatta (*Brit. Mus. Catalogue*, Pl. iv, fig. 19) with a cross somewhat similar, but the limbs are more like thunderbolts.

Types *e* and *f* of the Archbishop's pennies, aided by the coin types of Coenwulf, Eadberht Praen, and Eadvald, leave little difficulty in deciding which were the latest of Offa's¹⁵ coins.

On the obverse they all bear the legend **OFFA REX** **ꝺ** in three lines divided by two plain or beaded lines, and the following is a list of the moneyers, with special reference to those not in the British Museum:

Aelhmund	Eama (?) ¹⁶ (Delgany find)
¹⁶ Babba (Rashleigh sale, lot 38)	¹⁷ Eoba
Beanneard	¹⁸ Ethelnod
¹⁷ Botred (?)	Ibba
¹⁷ Ciolhard (Murdoch sale, lot 16)	¹⁹ Ludoman (Montagu sale, lot 212)
Cuthberht (Montagu sale, lot 211)	¹⁷ Lul
Deimund (Montagu sale, lot 196)	Osmod
	¹⁷ Wilhun
	¹⁹ Wihtred ²⁰ (Regniht)
	Winoth

¹⁵ The few pennies in the Delgany hoard (*Num. Chron.*, 3rd Series, vol. ii), and also the find described by Mr. Grueber (ditto, 1894), corroborate the late issue of several of the types about to be referred to.

¹⁶ Also coined for Coenwulf and Eadberht Praen.

¹⁷ Also coined for Coenwulf.

¹⁸ Probably Eoba.

¹⁹ Also coined for Coenwulf and Eadvald.

²⁰ This moneyer's name is Wihtred, not Regniht, as given in the British Museum Catalogue. It reads **WIHTRED**.

They may be classified in respect to the various reverses as follows :

- a. *Rev.*—Plain cross-crosslet.

Ibba (Montagu), found at Kilkenny. [Pl. X. 13.]

- b. *Rev.*—Small voided cross of Celtic form.

Ealmund. [Pl. VIII. 9.]

- c. *Rev.*—Celtic cross with voided square in centre. (Compare Eadvald of East Anglia, Rud. Pl. 4, fig. 2.)

Wihfred.²¹ [Pl. XII. 4.]

- d. *Rev.*—A cross-crosslet voided.

Ciolhard (Murdoch, lot 16).

- e. *Rev.*—Moneyer's name in one or two straight lines across the field between two lines; ornaments in spaces above and below. (Compare Eadberht Praen, *B. M. C.*, Pl. xi. 2, and Rud. App.)

Babba. [Pl. VI. 8.]

Eoba. [Pl. IX. 9, 10.]

Ethelnod. [Pl. IX. 13.]

Osmod. [Pl. XI. 8.]

- f. *Rev.*—As the last, but between lunettes. (Compare Eadberht Praen, Rud. Pl. 3, fig. 1.)

Deimund. (Montagu, lot 196, found at Wellington, Northants.)

Ethelnod. [Pl. IX. 14.]

- g. *Rev.*—A double lobed (dumb-bell) ornament across the field. (Compare the ends of this ornament with the tribrach on Coenwulf penny, Rud. App. Pl. 29, 15.)

Eoba. [Pl. IX. 11.]

Ethelnod. [Pl. IX. 15.]

Winoth. [Pl. XII. 11, 12, 13.]

- h. *Rev.*—A beaded line ending with a cross at either end.

Winoth. [Pl. XII. 14.]

- i. *Rev.*—As the last, but enclosed within a compartment shaped as a Boeotian shield. (Compare Coenwulf, Rud. App. Pl. 29. 16.)

Ethelnod. [Pl. IX. 16.]

Ludoman. [Pl. XI. 5.]

Wilhun. [Pl. XII. 5, 6.]

²¹ See note 20 on p. 86.

- j. *Rev.*—In the inner spaces of a large quatrefoil occupying the whole of the flan. (Compare Eadvald, *B. M. C.*, Pl. xiv, fig. 3, and Coenwulf, *Rud.* Pl. 6. 18.)

Lul. [Pl. XI. 3.]

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS.

From the foregoing it will have been noticed how closely the coins of Offa are linked one with another, and how numerous are the instances of combination or mule types, with the result that the problem of solving the sequence of his pennies would appear to be that of fitting together correctly the pieces of a puzzle rather than the disentangling of a knotted thread.

One might imagine that moneyers working side by side were wont to borrow each other's implements, but I do not suggest that such an unorthodox procedure took place.

Offa's penny coinage brought forth the moneyers' names from obscurity, and it is quite possible that until their position and responsibilities under new conditions had become regulated there was a certain amount of "go as you please".

I am regretfully aware of the disappointing result of these notes in reaching a proper arrangement of Offa's coinage, and I am afraid they add very little that is new to the numismatic knowledge of the period.

My sole excuse is that possibly some material will be found ready at hand and in convenient form which may lessen the work of any one who desires to give serious attention to perhaps the most interesting and involved period of the coinage of this island.

Its proper study is at present handicapped by our

imperfect knowledge of the coinage down to the reign of Aethelstan of Wessex or even later, while, as regards the Mercian coinage in particular, there is the further disadvantage that we have to rely upon the testimony of writers from the time of Alfred onwards, when the glory of the Mercian kingdom had faded and been forgotten, whilst that of Wessex was in the ascendant. The history of conquered Mercia was then not considered of great interest, otherwise we might have had more full particulars concerning the great Offa and incidentally regarding the coinage.

I have to place on record my most grateful thanks to Mr. G. C. Brooke, Mr. L. A. Lawrence, and Lord Grantley for their valuable assistance and advice, but at the same time I wish to make it clear that these gentlemen are in no way committed to the conclusions I have drawn, which may or may not entirely harmonize with their own views. To Mr. Brooke I am further indebted for the trouble he has taken in selecting and arranging the coins which are illustrated in the plates, and to Lord Grantley, Mr. Bruun, and Dr. Macdonald, Curator of the Hunterian collection, for giving me permission and facilities for reproducing their coins.

R. CYRIL LOCKETT.

The plates of Offa's coins have been arranged, for convenience of reference, under the moneyers' names. The abbreviations used on the plates are :

- B. = Mr. L. E. Bruun's collection.
- BM. = British Museum.
- G. = Lord Grantley's collection.
- H. = Hunterian collection.
- L. = Mr. R. C. Lockett's collection.

REVIEW.

Jehan de Candida, diplomate et médailleur, au service de la Maison de Bourgogne, 1472-1480. Par VICTOR TOURNEUR. pp. 125. With 3 plates. Brussels: Goemaere. 1919.

WE are very glad to see this reprint of the articles which M. Victor Tourneur has been bringing out in the *Revue Belge de Numismatique*. The author has made a singularly exhaustive study of all the documentary material existing in the archives at Brussels, Lille, and Milan, relating to the career of Candida in the service of Charles the Bold and Maximilian. It would seem that he has discovered all that is to be discovered from these sources; and indeed, though there are still many problems unsolved, he has cleared up many doubtful points. Henri de la Tour to the end of his days refused to believe that Candida made the three medals of Charles the Bold, the Grand Bastard of Burgundy, and Jacopo Galeota, which every one agrees are by one and the same hand. Now M. Tourneur has added another to this group, representing a namesake of himself, Jean le Tourneur, the Elder. And he has made it evident that Candida was in daily contact with all these four people during four or five years. I confess that, though I always felt with M. de la Tour that it was impossible to recognize Candida's hand in these medals, I am considerably shaken in my scepticism on seeing the evidence as set forth by M. Tourneur. There is, however, no doubt that they are in a broader, bolder style than the later medals. If Candida made them, he modified his style, not in all respects for the better, but bringing it perhaps more into accordance with the customary medallic technique of the time. The medal of Le Tourneur bears on its reverse a monogram of Gothic letters, with the letters IK on each side. M. Tourneur resolves the monogram as fam(u)l(u)s, and explains the whole as I(hannes K(aroli) famulus. Le Tourneur was *valet de chambre* of Charles. It must be admitted that this is very difficult to accept. The monogram, which seems to contain the letters k and e in addition to those which M. Tourneur recognizes, must

represent some device. It is almost incredible that the least important word of the three in the phrase suggested should be made the chief element in the design, and improbable that Charles should be spoken of without any title. I take *IK* to be the artist's signature. M. Tourneur says that he never wrote his name with a *K*. But it seems rash to lay down hard and fast rules of this kind. Such words as *Carolus* and *Caritas* were frequently written with a *K*.¹ These medals M. Tourneur dates to the years 1473 to 1475. To 1476 he gives that of Juan Palomar; to 1477 the earlier medal of Maximilian and Mary; and to 1478 the two medals of Antonio Gratiadei² and Nicolas de Ruter. In 1479 come the dated medals of Jehan de la Gruthuse and Jehan Miette, of Jehan de Carondelet and Marguerite de Chasse, and the undated later medal of Maximilian and Mary, of which the German copies bear the date 1479. As to the medal of La Gruthuse, which has a large *A* behind the head and two *A*'s, one in each loop of a love-knot, below, M. Tourneur has no difficulty in disposing of earlier interpretations; he himself proposes a singularly ingenious one. The large *A* is for *assertor*, in the sense of defender or liberator; the two small *A*'s in the love-knot are for *assertori assertus*. He assumes that Candida owed his liberation from prison in Lille to Jehan de la Gruthuse. The only weak point in this explanation is that we know no reason why Candida, once free, exercised this extreme discretion in alluding to his debt to La Gruthuse. But perhaps the medal was made while Candida was still in prison, and La Gruthuse was fighting his cause. The last medal with which M. Tourneur deals is one representing Charles the Bold and Maximilian: *Carolus Burgundus* and *Maximilianus Auster*. He illustrates the specimen in the Brussels Collection, and mentions others at Paris and Vienna. He condemns all alike as not originals. The profile of Charles is an after-cast of Candida's medal; that of Maximilian is borrowed from the medal of 1477; but both have had caps put on their heads. All the specimens, he says, are very much and very clumsily chased. Some bear the signature **OPVS CARO**. Henri de la Tour supposed that this was a corruption by the chaser of **OPVS CAND**. M. Tourneur thinks

¹ But Candida once, as we shall see in connexion with another medal, writes *Carolus*.

² The diameter of this, according to H. de la Tour, should be 44 mm., not 41 mm.

that **CARO** is really the name of a bungling person who invented this medal on the basis of Candida's portraits. Unfortunately he has failed to notice that in the Simon Collection at Berlin there is a specimen of the medal which throws a different light on the matter. It is described (*Sammlung von Renaissance-Kunstwerken gestiftet von Herrn James Simon*, Berlin, 1908, p. 29, No. 198) as measuring 40 mm. in diameter—larger therefore than any other known specimens—and being signed **OPUS** (*sic*) **CAND.** The catalogue cited is so ignorant and slovenly a production that one could not be sure whether this signature actually appears on the piece in question or is assumed to be there, were it not



Medal of Raimundo Lavagnoli (1 scale).

that Dr. Bode has assured us elsewhere that the medal does undoubtedly bear the inscription **OPVS CAND** (*Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, xv, Nov. 1904, p. 42). And a glance at the illustration of the medal in this publication not only shows the signature clearly, but leaves no doubt that the medal is an authentic and beautiful work from the hand of Candida. Henri de la Tour's conjecture is therefore happily confirmed.

In his study of the work of Candida, the latter scholar mentioned a medal of Raimundo Lavagnoli (*Armand*, ii. 9, 10) with the remark that in size, style, head-dress, and costume it resembles the medals of Maximilian and La Gruthuse, but that the specimens known to him are too *flous* to enable him to decide on the attribution. A specimen in Mr. Henry Oppenheimer's collection, which is a very fair casting, and

is illustrated here with the owner's kind permission, certainly seems to me to favour Candida's authorship. According to the medal, this Lavagnoli was "Count and Commissary of Saxony in the time of the Emperor Conrad, in the year of Christ *mxlviii*". Whoever made this piece at the end of the fifteenth century was therefore doubtless doing an imaginary portrait for some descendant of Raimundo. The arms on the medal are those of the Lavagnoli of Verona (*nel 1° d'oro, al monte di sei cime di verde movente dalla partizione; nel 2° di rosso pieno*). Unfortunately, so far as my researches have gone, there is no other trace of the original Lavagnoli; nor, M. Tournour informs me, has he come across the name in connexion with Candida. It is, however, not impossible that the medallist may have met one of the family, say during his mission to Venice, Rome, and Naples in 1478. It may be mentioned, by the way, that there is some mistake in the date on the medal; possibly it is meant for *xxxviii* (Conrad II reigned from 1024 to 1039) or for *mcxlviii* (Conrad III, 1138-1152).

G. F. H.

OBITUARY.

HARRY BERTRAM EARLE FOX.

THE death of Harry Bertram Earle Fox, on Friday, March 21, has removed from our Society one of its most able Fellows. He joined the Society in 1891, and was subsequently elected to the Council. In 1913-15 he became Vice-President, and in that capacity frequently presided at our meetings. He was Secretary of the British Numismatic Society, and editor of its *Journal* during the last two years, but his health would not bear the strain, and he was compelled to resign the office. Born at Andover in 1863, he died at Devizes at the comparatively early age of 57. Earle Fox was a journalist by profession, and his earlier work as such took him to Paris. He was at one time editor of *Galignani's Messenger*, and subsequently of the Paris edition of the *New York Herald*. He and his brother, Mr. J. Shirley-Fox, were already collectors of coins in these early years in Paris. Later Earle Fox went for a time to Athens, and it was here that his love for Greek coinage and art caused him to take up the study of the coins of Athens and of Corinth. His work on these subjects¹ is too well known to require description here.

¹ The following is a list of his articles on Greek numismatics:
L'obole athénienne et ses fractions à l'époque macédonienne
[*Revue Numismatique*, 1887].

Note sur quelques monnaies attiques rares ou inédites [*Ibid.*, 1890].

Greek Coins in the Collection of Mr. Earle Fox [*Num. Chron.*, 1893].

The Daoviri of Corinth [*Journal international d'Archéologie numismatique*, 1899].

Some Athenian Problems [*Num. Chron.*, 1905].

The Early Coinages of European Greece [*Corolla Numismatica*, 1906].

The Initial Coinage of Coreyra [*Num. Chron.*, 1908].

It is understood that, by his wish, his collection of Greek coins, on which his studies were based, is to pass to the National Collection.

When he returned to England he joined the staff of the *Standard* newspaper, and he and his brother began their critical studies of the earlier Plantagenet and Tudor coins. These soon led to a series of articles of the first importance on the coinages of the first three Edwards contributed to the *British Numismatic Journal* for the years 1911 to 1914. Documentary evidence in detail was brought to bear on the large mass of these common Edwardian coins, and as the result we are now able to date almost to a year any Edwardian penny.

But another most important fact was brought out in these papers, and that is the true position of the mint of Durham. The brothers were able to sweep away the old idea of a Royal mint, and to show that coins previously considered as evidence of its existence were really coins issued *sede vacante*, or by the king's receiver placed there when from some cause or another there were disagreements between the king and the bishop. This discovery about the mint of Durham will doubtless bear fresh fruit when the later coins of Durham come under the critical eye of one of Fox's followers. Although Earle Fox has not written voluminously on our early English coinage he has left many note-books full of the most valuable material, bearing especially on the reigns of Edward III, Henry IV, and Henry VI. He had hoped to have brought out the article on Edward III at no distant period.

One is apt to think that a great student like Earle Fox has only one interest, but this was not so in his case. He was an intense lover of nature, and a walk along the country-side with him revealed a wide knowledge of natural history. He was truly unselfish with his information, and always anxious to help others to see the beauties of nature or the interest of a coin. When his health broke down in 1914 he left London and went to live at the little village of Woolhampton. Here he led an out-of-door life as far as possible. The village children were always round him; some he taught to swim, others would bring him birds' eggs to identify or to blow for them. There was always a little lesson attached to these interviews, and many a child has been shown the cruelty of taking all the eggs from one nest. In his death we suffer the loss of a student of great ability and keen enthusiasm, and a man who knew the beauties of nature and loved his fellow men.

L. A. LAWRENCE.

DR. FRIEDRICH IMHOOF-BLUMER. AN APPRECIATION.

The news has just arrived of the death of Dr. Imhoof (Blumer was his wife's name) of Winterthur, at the age of eighty-two. He has been one of the greatest figures in Ancient Numismatics for half a century. Mr. J. P. Six of Amsterdam surpassed him in brilliance of conjecture, and Mr. Head in breadth of view; but neither could rival him in extent and accuracy of knowledge. Retiring early from business, he gave himself with extraordinary devotion to the study of Greek coins. His house became a museum of originals and casts, and he studied in almost every coin-collection of Europe. He amassed a vast amount of notes; and he scarcely ever was guilty of the least inaccuracy. As I worked with him many days in the British Museum and at Winterthur I could watch his wonderfully exact procedure, and sound the depths of his knowledge. Whenever a coin was brought before him, he could say in what collections of Europe other specimens were to be found, and in what details they varied. Only Furtwängler's knowledge of Greek sculpture could be compared to Imhoof's knowledge of Greek coins. And he had the generosity of the true savant in imparting his knowledge. When I was preparing the British Museum Catalogue of Coins of Thessaly I wrote to him for information on certain points, and at once received by post the whole of his notes on Thessalian coins in all European museums, with a letter authorizing me to publish any part of them I pleased. So entirely was he above the ordinary jealousy of the savant.

When Mommsen in 1887 planned a *Corpus of Greek Coins*, he turned to Imhoof as the only man capable of editing it: and Imhoof was made a full member of the Prussian Academy. Our Numismatic Society has in its smaller way shown its appreciation of his attainments by electing him an Honorary Member in 1873, and awarding to him our medal in 1888, before any other foreigner. Of his numerous books and papers, some of which appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, I have no space to speak.

Living very simply in his house at Winterthur, half of which was given up to coins, readily welcoming colleagues, and acting as a source of information to inquirers, Imhoof was an ideal savant. Careless of reputation, working incessantly up to and beyond the limits of endurance, delighting in every new discovery, he showed the dignity of a devoted scholar's life. He has left no successor, and a gap which may never be filled. I do not suppose that any one hereafter will carry the whole of Greek coinage in his head as Imhoof did.

P. GARDNER.

IV.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN 1919.

[See Plates XIII, XIV.]

THE acquisitions of this year have been of great importance. Sir Arthur Evans's splendid gift of the Evans Collection of early British and other Celtic coins must first be mentioned, although it does not properly come within the scope of this article. The great event of the year, in respect of Greek coins, was afforded by the collection of the late Sir Hermann Weber. The opportunity (offered to the Museum by Messrs. Spink & Son) of pre-emption from that collection was gladly seized. In ordinary conditions, the Museum grant would not have sufficed to buy even two of the rarest pieces in the collection. But the Government rose to the occasion, and a grant of £10,000 made it possible to secure a number of coins of capital importance, as well as a large quantity of pieces which, though making less show, are very desirable acquisitions. But this was not all. An appeal to the generosity of friends of the Museum was not without effect. The National Art Collections Fund contributed £450, securing the beautiful Aphrodite stater of Cnidus. Other gifts were received from Mr. K. Dingwall, Mr. Campbell Dodgson, Mr. George Eumorfopoulos, Miss Helen Farquhar, Sir Henry Howorth, Mr. Stanley Robinson, Mrs. Ernest Schuster,

Mr. Henry Van den Bergh, Dr. F. Parkes Weber, and Mr. W. H. Woodward. To all these, as also to Sir Arthur Evans, whose assistance in the same direction properly falls to be recorded under the year 1920, are due the hearty thanks, not merely of the Museum, but of all persons interested in the advancement of Greek numismatics. Messrs. Spink, it should be added, have kindly left in our hands a very large further selection, which we hope to buy as funds become available. That will take time, unless some unexpected benefaction relieves the situation. Meanwhile it has been necessary to sacrifice some very important pieces, which it was unfair to hold up indefinitely on the chance of the Museum being able to purchase them. But it is satisfactory to be able to say that very little of capital importance has left this country.

In this review of our acquisitions I propose, as usual, to omit pieces which will before long appear in the catalogues of the Museum, the publication of which is once more being resumed. I also merely note, without further description, those coins which have already been described by their late owner in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (1892, 1896, 1898, 1899) or in his article in *Corolla Numismatica*. They are the following:

Cumae (Campania). Early didrachm with head of Athena (1896, Pl. I. 1).

Heraclea (Lucania). Didrachm with magistrate's name ΕΥΘΥ (1896, Pl. i. 3).

Croton (Bruttii). Silver obol with ΔΙΩ beside tripod on rev. (1896, Pl. i. 8).

Himera (Sicily). The famous Pelops tetradrachm and the ΞΟΤΗΡ didrachm (1892, Pl. xv. 2, 3).

Thracian Chersonesus. Stater with lion and head of Athena (1892, Pl. xv. 5).

Lysimacheia (Chers. Thrac.). Silver drachm (1896, Pl. i. 16).

Perinthus (Thrace). Bronze of Elagabalus (1896, Pl. i. 18).

Mende (Macedon). Stater with ass (1898, p. 256, No. 20; from same obv. die as Babelon, *Traité*, Pl. li. 14).

Olynthus (Macedon) or rather Euboea. Tetradrachm with facing quadriga, and tetrobol with facing horseman (1892, Pl. xv. 8, 10).

Macedon, Early King. Stater with horseman and helmet (1896, Pl. ii. 5).

Paeonia, King Lykkoios. Stater with bare male head (1892, Pl. xv. 6). Presented by Dr. Parkes Weber.

Boeotia. Early stater (1896, Pl. ii. 8).

Elis. Stater with eagle's head and large F countermark (1892, Pl. xv. 16).

— Stater with head of Hera and eagle flapping wings (1892, Pl. xvi. 2). Presented by Mr. Henry Van den Bergh. Same dies as Babelon, *Traité*, Pl. ccxxxiii, No. 21.

Tarra (Crete). Drachm (1896, Pl. ii. 11).

Delos. Two early staters with Δ above lyre (1892, Pl. xvi. 11, 12).

Lampsacus (Mysia). The gold staters with heads of Hera and Dionysos (1896, Pl. ii. 18, 19, here Pl. XIV. 7, 8).

Assos (Mysia). The silver coin reading ΑΞΞΟΟΝ (1892, Pl. xvi. 13).

Old Smyrna (Ionia). The unique stater with head of Apollo and lyre (*Corolla Num.*, Pl. xv. 6).

Chios. Early stater from Egypt (1899, Pl. xvi. 4).

Cnidus (Caria). The Aphrodite tetradrachm of ΤΕΛΕ-ΞΙΦΡΩΝ (1892, Pl. xvi. 15). Presented by the National Art Collections Fund.

Cos. Tetradrachm with veiled head of Artemisia (?) (1892, Pl. xvi. 16).

Tarsus (Cilicia). Stater with seated Athena and astragalos-player (1892, Pl. xvi. 17).

- Tarsus (Cilicia). Tetrobol with facing female head and head of Ares (*Corolla Num.*, Pl. xv. 10).
- Oecoclea and Bruzus (Phrygia). Alliance bronze of Commodus (1892, Pl. xvi. 18).
- Cyprus. Amathus. Set of three coins (1896, Pl. iii. 17-19).
 —. Paphos. Tetrobol of Pnytes (1896, Pl. iii. 22).
 —. Salamis. Diobol of Nikodamos (1896, Pl. iii. 15) and satrapal tetradrachm of Euagoras II (1896, Pl. iii. 16, and Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinas. Münzen*, ii, p. 519, No. 8, Taf. XIX. 24).
- Cyrenaica. Series of small silver (1899, Pl. xvi. 11-14 and 17-19).

The following acquisitions from the Weber Collection have also been published elsewhere, and do not seem to call for fresh reproduction.

- Orrescii. The rare stater from the Montagu Collection (I. 188, Pl. iv), from the same obv. die as the Paris specimen (*Traité*, Pl. xlv. 11).
- Abdera(?). The tetradrachm described in the Berlin Corpus, *Thrakien*, I. i, p. 122, e, No. 3. From Sotheby's Sale, 9. v. 1904, lot 191.
- Abdera. The unique stater, ΕΡΙ ΘΡΑΣΥΟΣ, Berlin Corpus, *ibid.*, p. 64, No. 79, Taf. I. 19.
- Dicaea. The tetradrachm from Egypt published by Greenwell (*Num. Chron.*, 1890, Pl. i. 1); wrongly assigned by Babelon (*Traité*, 1767) to the Greenwell Collection. It was bought from Rollin & Feuardent in 1889.
- Chersonesus Cretae. The fine stater with the head of Britomartis, published by Svoronos, *Crète anc.*, Pl. iii. 23.
- Ptolemy I. The rare tetradrachm reading ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ (Svoronos, *Νομ. Πτελ.*, p. 7, No. 82) was purchased from Eddi of Alexandria in 1899, and weighs 15.77 g.

I now proceed to details of some of the more important coins, for the most part undescribed.

Capua?

Obv.—Head of Persephone l., wreathed with corn; hair rolled.

Rev.—Nike driving biga r.; in exergue, Σ

\rightarrow *Al* 16 mm. Wt. 4.23 g. *Pl. XIII. 1.* From the Montagu Sale I (1896), lot 815.

The attribution to Carthage suggested, with a mark of interrogation, in the Montagu Catalogue, can hardly be correct. The style suggests Campania in the third century B.C. For the treatment of the biga, for instance, compare the silver coins of Teanum Sidicinum (A. Sambon, *Monn. ant. de l'Italie*, i, Pl. v. 980). The retrograde Σ may be the initial of Capua; it is difficult to see what, other than an italic letter, a retrograde Σ on a coin of this period could be. If that is so, the only time to which we can attribute the coin must be the period of the Hannibalian occupation (216–211 B.C.). The coins usually connected with this episode are of electrum, and of a different standard (Carthaginian).¹ The fact that our coin seems to be of pure gold may explain the use of the Attic standard.

Tarentum.

Obv.—Naked youthful horseman cantering l., r. knee bent under him in act of alighting; holds in l. small round shield.

Rev.—Taras (Σ below) riding l. on dolphin, holding aphlaston (?) in r.; below, Σ . Linear circle.

\rightarrow *Al* 20 mm. Wt. 7.87 g. *Pl. XIII. 2.* Bought from Hoffmann.

This is a fine specimen of a coin already published

¹ See B.M.C., *Roman Republican Coins*, ii, p. 139.

in the Catalogue (B.M.C., 262), but apparently overlooked by Evans. It would appear to come between C and D in his Second Period. The attribute is possibly a torch, not an aphaiston.

Obv.—Type of Evans III P (Pl. iii. 16); below horse, Δ

Rev.—Taras (**TAPAZ** below) riding l. on dolphin. r. leg not seen; holds kantharos in outstretched r., l. rests on dolphin's back; below, Δ ; concave field.

→ *R* 22 mm. Wt. 7.81 g.

Heraclea Lucaniae.

Obv.—Head of Athena l., in crested Corinthian helmet, the bowl decorated with hippocamp; behind neck, Π ; inscription above helmet, if any, off the flan.

Rev.—Heracles, nude, standing l., club in l., cup in r., lion-skin over l. arm; altar in field l. off the flan; in field r., thunderbolt.

→ *R* 26 × 17 mm. Wt. 6.42 g. *Pl. XIII* 3. Bought from Lincoln.

A stater of the reduced standard; cp. B.M.C., Nos. 47, 48, for the reverse. The obverse with hippocamp on helmet is rare; cp. Stiavelli Sale, Pl. i, No. 63.

Metapontum.

Obv.—Ear of barley; on l. upwards **ΜΕΤΑ**, on r. χ **ΤΥΟΓ** downwards. Two chisel-cuts.

Rev.—Ear of barley incuse.

↑ *R* 27 mm. Wt. 8.00 g. Cp. Garrucci, Pl. cii. 20.

Obv.—Female head r. in style of Kimon, wearing small single-drop ear-ring and necklace.

Rev.—[**Μ**] **ΕΤΑ** on l. Ear of barley. Concave field.

→ *R* 20 mm. Wt. 7.33 g. *Pl. XIII* 4. From the Sambon Sale, 1902, lot 325. Cp. the coin already in the British Museum (*Coins of the Ancients*, III C 16).

Obv.—Generally similar to preceding, but ear-ring larger; behind neck, **K**

Rev.—**ΜΕΤΑΡΟ** on r. Ear of corn. Concave field.

↓ *R* 21 mm. Wt. 7.52 g. *Pl. XIII* 5. From Cahn, 1883. Same dies as Hirsch Sale, xxvi, lot 248.

Garrucci (Pl. ciii. 16) illustrates a didrachm from his own collection with the name **KIMΩN**. If this is genuine, we shall not be rash in regarding the **K** on our coin as representing the same name.

Obv.—Female head r., the hair rolled and bound with crossing fillet.

Rev.—**META** (on r. upwards). Ear of barley and leaf on l.

↑ At 24 mm. Wt. 7.97 g.

The obverse is very close to the Lambros didrachm (Hirsch, xxix, No. 49; cp. also Hirsch, xxxi, No. 46).

Thurium.

Obv.—Head of Athena r. in crested Athenian helmet, decorated with figure of Skylla, whose r. hand is lowered and holds nothing, while her l. is raised; on the neck-piece, palmette.

Rev.—ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ above; bull charging r.; below, small bird fluttering r.; in exergue, fish. Exergual line dotted. Concave field.

✓ At 23 mm. Wt. 7.94 g. Pl. XIII. 7. Bought from W.T. Ready, 1902. Traces of re-striking on obverse. Cp Carelli, 167, 26.

The attitude of the Skylla on this brilliant but rather too florid coin is comparatively rare on the didrachms (B.M.C., Nos. 59–61), but is found on many of the tetradrachms (e.g. *Coins of the Ancients*, III C 17). She appears to be ἀποσκοπεύουσα, looking out for a victim. An indifferent specimen of our coin (same obverse die) in Hirsch, xxxiii. 206, where the cataloguer wrongly regards it as a variety of the earlier type with a bird as reverse symbol (B.M.C., 49, 50); another, also from same obverse die, in Egger, xl. (Prowe) 188. On the other hand, Egger, xli. 73, is from the same reverse, but from a different obverse die. L. Sambon (*Monn. de la presqu'île ital.*, p. 299, No. 12) mentions a tetradrachm with the same symbol,

but it is not clear what the obverse is like. Seltman has republished the Prowe specimen (*Journal Internat.*, 1913, p. 3, Fig. 1), and supports A. Sambon's theory that the bird is the canting symbol of an engraver Phrygillos. However, the fact that the same little bird occurs as a symbol on two coins so widely separated in date is, if anything, against Sambon's theory.

Velia.

Obv.—Head of Athena r., wearing crested Athenian helmet, with running griffin on bowl; behind, Φ

Rev.—ΥΕΛΗΤΩΝ above. Lion prowling r.; in ex., bunch of grapes.

← AR 20.5 mm. Wt. 7.44 g. Pres. by Mr. E. S. G. Robinson. Bought from W. T. Ready in 1890. For the reverse cp. B.M.C., No. 116.

Croton.

Obv.—Eagle r. on thunderbolt, head reverted; to l. and r. above, Φ I; on r. term of Hermes.

Rev.—Tripod-lebes; [on l. Nike crowning it]; on r. ΚΡΟ

→ AR 23 mm. Wt. 6.31 g. From Sotheby's Sale, 26. iii. 1888, lot 222. Same obv. die as the Fitzwilliam coin, *Num. Chron.*, 1915, p. 180, No. 8(a). One of the pieces attributed by Mr. Grose to the period 280-277 B.C.

Catana.

Obv.—Slow quadriga r., without Nike; double exergual line of dots. Border of dots.

Rev.—ΚΑΤΑΝΑΙΟΝ Head of Apollo r., laureate; behind, dolphin upwards. Concave field.

→ AR 33 mm. Wt. 17.25 g. Pl. XIII. 8. Presented by Mr. W. H. Woodward. From the same obverse die as B.M.C., No. 19 (*Coins of the Ancients*, III C 20) and from the same dies as Egger Sale, 7. i. 1908, No. 30, and Hirsch, xxvi. 62. A rather unusual Apollo-type. Mirene's illustrations are so bad that it is impossible to say whether it corresponds to his No. 40 or not.

Gela.

Obv.—Slow quadriga r., Nike crowning the horses. Border of dots.

Rev.—CEAAΞ Forepart of bearded human-headed bull r. Concave field.

↑ At 28 mm. Wt. 17.07 g. Pl. XIII. 9. Presented by Mr. W. H. Woodward. The rev. is from a cracked die (from which the specimens Hirsch, xxxi. 154 and xix. 125 were struck at a slightly earlier stage). Purchased at the Bompis Sale (1882), No. 403.

Himera and Croton.

Obv.—Cock stepping r.; behind, VVA?

Rev.—Tripod; on r. upwards, QPO; incuse circle.

← At 12.5 mm. Wt. 1.41 g. Pl. XIII. 10. Cp. Garracci, Pl. cix. 21.

On these alliance coins, see Gabrici in *Riv. ital.*, 1894, p. 165. No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the much-discussed mysterious letters² on the obverse.

Bisalti.

Obv.—Horseman, wearing petasos, and carrying two spears, walking r. leading a bridled horse; on the horse's hind quarters, caduceus in relief. Border of dots.

Rev.—Shallow quadripartite incuse square.

At 31.5 mm. Wt. 28.62 g. Pl. XIII. 11. Already published by Svoronos, *L'Hellénisme primitif*, Pl. xii. 1.

The caduceus on the horse's hind quarters is the peculiar feature of this coin. It is an actual addition to the type, not the remains of an overstruck type. See Svoronos, *op. cit.*, p. 108, No. 16, for other examples (possibly the C which is read on some of them is really part of the caduceus). The caduceus also appears in the same way on coins of Pausanias (e.g. B. M. C.,

² References in Babelon, *Truitté*, ii (i), col. 1565-6.

Macedon, p. 169, No. 1). Similarly, on the Berlin drachm (*Traité*, Pl. xlvii. 4) the monogram of ΔΕ is placed in the same position. The caduceus is interesting in connexion with the statement of Herodotus that Hermes was the object of an especial cult by the kings of the Thracian tribes.² All these marks, then, may perhaps, as Mr. Robinson suggests to me, represent the royal brand on the horses, a religious attribute or name being used for the purpose. If so, the monogram on the Berlin drachm is more likely to represent Apollo Derronaïos than the Derrones (as Svoronos holds, *op. cit.*, p. 6) or the name of Edessa (which is Babelon's view). This method of marking the animals has an analogy in the artist's initial placed on the bulls of Thurium (see below), to indicate that the animal was designed by them, and was, in that sense, their property.

Eidones.

Obv.—Herdsman, bearded, wearing petasos, and holding goad, walking r. with two oxen; around, beginning above tail of nearer animal and ending in exergue, in very fine letters, ΒΑΣΙΛ Ε[V]ΗΔ ΩΝ ΕΩΝ
Border of large dots.

Rev.—ΓΕΤΑ ΒΑΣΙΛ ΕΥΗΔΩΝ ΕΩΝ around a quadripartite granulated square; all within shallow incuse square.

⚭ R 31 mm. Wt. 28.04 g. Pl. XIII. 12. A small portion of the edge has been chiselled off.

The obverse of this octodrachm is from the same die as the coin at Paris (Babelon, *Traité*, Pl. xlv. 7), but in the interval between the striking of the two pieces the die was altered. The Paris coin has no inscription

² v. 7; quoted by Babelon, *Traité*, ii (i), col. 1058.

on the reverse. It was decided to transfer the inscription from the obverse to the reverse. The new die for the reverse having been engraved, the old die of the obverse was modified by working over the field so as nearly to obliterate the inscription (the word ΓΕΤΑ indeed has quite disappeared); at the same time the tail of the ox was brought out further from his legs and strengthened. This makeshift was felt to be unsatisfactory, and a new die was accordingly engraved for the obverse without any inscription at all, producing coins like the two in the British Museum (*Traité*, Pl. xlv. 5 and 6). The new coin thus gives us a chronological sequence for the issues of Getas.

Mende.

Obv.—Ithyphallie mule standing r.; on his crupper, crow, *ab ano pascens*; in background, vine growing, with large bunch of grapes; inscription ΜΙ on r., Ν below. Border of dots.

Rev.—Shallow incuse square, divided into four parts by bands broadening towards the edges.

AR 28 mm. Wt. 16.84 g. Purchased from Lambros in 1889. From the same obverse die as the specimens at Paris (*Traité*, Pl. li. 14) and in the Löbbecke Collection (*Z. f. N.*, x, p. 73, 12 and Taf. III). The reverse of our coin differs in having no annulet in the centre.*

Philippi.

Obv.—Head of young Heracles r., wearing lion-skin. Border of dots.

Rev.—Tripod with fillets hanging from the two outer rings; above, branch; on r. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΩΝ downwards; in ex. ΗΡΑ; on l. club upwards. Concave field.

† AR 25 mm. Wt. 14.27 g. Bought from Lambros, 1902. Cp. Mionnet, i. 486, 274.

* No. 1616 in the *Traité* belonged to the Greenwell, not the Weber Collection.

Macedon.

Philip II. A fine specimen of the rare tetradrachm, symbol grasshopper (Müller 263). Wt. 14.41 g. Presented by Miss Helen Farquhar.

*Thrace.**Lysimachus.*

A very fine example of the tetradrachm (17.22 g.); on obverse K below neck, on reverse cult-image, crescent, and N (Müller 289). Presented by Sir H. Howorth, K.C.I.E.

Peparethus.

Obv.—Bunch of grapes; border of dots off the flan.

Rev.—Head of bearded Heracles l., in lion-skin, in dotted incuse square.

* At 24 mm. Wt. 17.23 g. Pl. XIII. 13. Purchased from Lambros in 1891. Already published by Wroth, *J. H. S.*, xxvii (1907), Pl. iv. 3.

Since Wroth's article, fixing this group of coins to Peparethus, was published, a specimen of the tetradrachm with the dolphin-rider has come to light in the Taranto hoard (*Rev. Num.*, 1912, p. 16, No. 35, Pl. iii. 1). The reverse is described by M. Babelon as from the same die as the British Museum specimen; but he has not noticed that the bunch of grapes on both obverses is also from the same die. Only, in the case of the Taranto specimen, the whole of the surface of the die has been worked over; the area covered by the bunch of grapes has been deepened and the spaces between the separate grapes widened; the dolphins have been removed and their places taken by a singularly ill-designed pair of vine-leaves, and a border of extraordinarily large and widely-spaced dots. The whole aspect of the coin, to judge from a cast, is so ugly, that but for the assurance of experienced numismatists who saw it at the time of the discovery, it

might not unreasonably be condemned as an insertion by a forger. A parallel to the border does, however, occur on a coin to be mentioned below.

Wroth was not quite sure of the attribution of the dolphin-rider to Peparethus. No more suitable attribution has, however, been proposed. The British Museum specimen was found at Demetrias in Thessaly, only some forty miles from Peparethus. A further confirmation of the attribution is provided by a tetrobol from the Woodhouse Collection now in the Museum.

Obv.—Bunch of grapes, similar in shape and treatment to that on the dolphin-rider coin; border of large widely-spaced dots.

Rev.—Kantharos similar in shape to that held by Dionysos on the tetradrachm (*J. H. S.*, xxvii, Pl. iv. 2).

‡ AR 14.5 mm. Wt. 2.70 g. Pl. XIII. 14.

This tetrobol serves to connect the dolphin-rider stater with the Dionysos stater, which is proved by its inscription to be of Peparethus.

Elis.

Obv.—Eagle flying l., carrying hare in talons and beak; in field, above eagle's head, pecten-shell; counter-mark uncertain.

Rev.—F A Winged thunderbolt; in field l. olive-spray, r. vine-leaf on stalk. Incuse circle.

† AR 24 mm. Wt. 12.01 g. Seltman, *Nom.*, viii, p. 50, No. 109, where the shell is described as a cowrie.

Obv.—Head of Hera l., wearing stephane decorated with palmettes and F A

Rev.—Eagle standing r. on ram's head, head reverted; all in olive-wreath. Concave field.

† AR 28 mm. Wt. 11.99 g. Pl. XIV. 1. From the Photiades Sale, lot 1047. Presented by Mr. George Eumorfopoulos.

Obv.—Head of Hera r.; **F A** at sides of neck (same die as the other Weber coin, *Num. Chron.*, 1892, Pl. xvi. 2).

Rev.—Eagle with closed wings standing r.; before l. foot, **Δ** All in olive-wreath. Concave field.

† *R* 24 mm. Wt. 12.00 g. Pl. XIV. 2. Bought at Athens, 1897.

Amastris.

Obv.—Head of Amastris r., wearing mitra wreathed with laurel; behind, bow and quiver.

Rev.—[**ΑΜΑΣΤΡΙΟΣ**] on r., **ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗ** on l., downwards. Female figure (Amastris as Aphrodite?) seated l. on throne, against which her sceptre leans; on her r. hand small winged Eros holding up taenia towards her; the uprights of the throne surmounted by a rose.

† *R* 20 mm. Wt. 9.60 g. Pl. XIV. 3. Bought from W. T. Ready, 1896.

This coin has already been illustrated by Prof. Jan Six in *Römische Mitteilungen*, xxvii (1912), Taf. I. f. I cannot agree with him that the figure on the reverse is male, and nude to the waist. Not merely on the coin itself, but even in his illustrations, the fullness of the breasts and the line of the upper part of the chiton about the neck are clearly visible. What he describes as long hair I take to be the end of the veil. The little Eros identifies the figure as Aphrodite. On the later coins, struck after the death of Amastris, the female figure wears both veil and modius, and the rose which had served as an ornament to the posts of the throne is transferred to the field. I see no reason for regarding the figure as the city of Amastris, or the head on the obverse as the head of Mithras, or the ornament of the throne as a head of Helios.³ The

³ Waddington, Babelon et Reinach, *Recueil gén.*, i, p. 135, No. 1.

head-dress, as Rostovtseff has shown, is that of a Pontic queen.⁶

Cyzicus.

Electrum staters: Head of Perseus l. (von Fritze, ii. 18: this coin). Bought from Lambros, 1885. Wt. 16.06 g.

Lioness l. (von Fritze, iii. 5: this coin). Bought from H. Hoffmann, 1884. Wt. 16.13 g.

Lion r. breaking sword in jaws (von Fritze, v. 25). Bought from S. N. Alishan, 1888. Wt. 15.92 g.

Eagle (von Fritze, vi. 35). Bought from D. Kelekian, 1897. Wt. 15.90 g.

Electrum hectae: Beardless male head l. (As the stater, Greenwell, 80, Pl. iv. 1; von Fritze, iv. 3.) Bought from Macridi, 1900. Wt. 2.59 g.

Kneeling helmeted figure r. testing arrow. (Greenwell, 93, Pl. iv. 18; von Fritze, iv. 3.) Bought from Macridi, 1892. Wt. 2.62 g.

Head of Poseidon l. (As the stater, Greenwell, No. 5, Pl. i. 5; von Fritze, v. 33.) From the Carfrae Sale, lot 200. Wt. 2.62 g.

Electrum $\frac{1}{2}$ stater.

Obv.—Head of tunny l., teeth showing.

Rev.—Rough incuse square.

EL. 0.75 mm. Wt. 0.63 g. The half of this is already known (B.M.C., Pl. iii. 13), but neither it, nor another specimen of the twenty-fourth acquired by the Museum in 1907, shows the teeth.

Lampsacus.

In addition to the two gold staters already mentioned as having been published by Sir Hermann, the Museum has acquired the wonderful specimen with Nike sacrificing a ram (8.42 g., Baldwin, *Journ. Int.*, 1902, p. 11, No. 6, Pl. i. 9); that with the head of a woman to l. (8.31 g., similar to Baldwin, Pl. iii. 23), and the Hecate (8.38 g., similar to Baldwin, Pl. ii. 17). All five coins are illustrated here, **PL XIV. 4-8.**

⁶ *J. H. S.*, 1919, p. 89.

Cos.

Obv.—Head of bearded Heracles r., wearing lion-skin.

Rev.—Veiled female head l.; behind, ΦΙΛΟΔΑΜ Incuse circle.

† *AR* 24.5 mm. Wt. 15.34 g. Cp. the tetradrachm (also now in the Museum) published by Sir Hermann, *Num. Chron.*, 1892, Pl. xvi. 6.

Obv.—Head of beardless Heracles r., wearing lion-skin.

Rev.—Crab; below, club; above, ΦΙΛΙΣΤΗΣ; below, ΚΩΙΟΝ All in dotted incuse square.

‡ *AR* 19 mm. Wt. 6.99 g. Presented by Mrs. Ernest Schuster.

This coin belongs to Head's period 366–300 B.C. The reading ΦΙΛΙΣΤΟ[Ξ] on a bronze coin which Head attributes to the same period (B. M. C., *Caria*, p. 197, No. 37) is certain; and he also catalogues a didrachm with ΦΙΛΙΣΤΟΞ in the next period.

Lycia, Khāriga.

Obv.—Head of Aphrodite r.; hair in small curls over forehead, bound with fillet passing twice over back of head and once round the queue behind ears; the long mass of hair is lifted up but apparently not fastened to the head. No ear-ring, but a T-shaped ornament rises from the plain necklace. Dotted truncation.

Rev.—Owl to l., head to front, within the circle of a tetraskeles turning to r.; around, Lycian inscription Khāriga [F]āhtāzā; before the first letter, symbol resembling the ankh, but with double cross-bar and open ring. All in incuse square.

† *AR* 25 mm. Wt. 9.64 g. Pl. XIV. 10. Bought from Lambros, 1895.

Cp. the Paris stater, *Traité*, Pl. xcix. 24, with the types in the opposite directions. Our reverse is well done, but the obverse is poor, and the impossible treatment of the chignon and its general weakness suggest that the engraver was copying another coin,

like the Paris stater. That shows a large and complicated ear-ring, the lower part of which corresponds to the T-shaped ornament on our coin, the engraver of which has omitted the intermediate portion which connects it with the ear.

Lycia, Khārṣi.

Obv.—Head of Athens l., in crested Athenian helmet.

Rev.—Head of bearded satrap r., in Persian head-dress; behind, upwards. Lycian inscription Khārṣi. Deep incuse square.

† AR 19 mm. Wt. 8.37 g. PL. XIV. 11. Bought from Lambros, 1896.

Side.

Obv.—Pomegranate. Dotted guilloche border.

Rev.—Head of Athena r., wearing crestless helmet and necklace. Deep incuse square.

← AR 21 mm. Wt. 10.96 g. PL. XIV. 12. Bought from Lambros, 1883.

Apparently the only known specimen without a crest to the helmet, and presumably earlier than those which show a crest (*Traité*, Pl. xxiv. 4 ff.).

Selḡe.

Obv.—Two wrestlers engaging. Border of dots.

Rev.—[Ξ]TAEΛIIYΞ on l. upwards. Slinger in action r.; in field r., knucklebone. Dotted incuse square.

← AR 23 mm. Wt. 11.00 g. PL. XIV. 14. Bought from A. Giudice, 1891.

A fine specimen of the curious series of coins of Selḡe with the Pamphylian inscription, apparently an unrecorded variety.[†]

[†] For others, see Babelon, *Traité*, ii (ii), col. 1587 ff.: mostly with other symbols in addition to the knucklebone.

In conclusion I may mention a few acquisitions of the year from other sources.

Thurium.

Obv.—Head of Athena r. wearing crested Athenian helmet, wreathed with laurel; necklace with pendants hanging from a cord.

Rev.—Bull charging r.; on its haunch, a small A; above, ΘΟΥΡΙΩΝ and remains of E; in exergue, fish l. Slight incuse circle.

← R 22 mm. Wt. 7.98 g. Pl. XIII. 6.

This is a variety of the ordinary coin with E, which belongs to a group with letters (A-Θ); see Jörgensen in *Corolla Num.*, pp. 170-1. The additional A on the bull's haunch would appear to be an artist's signature like the Φ on the beautiful coin with the little bird (B. M. C., Nos. 14, 15). The A occurs also on staters which have A in front of the helmet on the obverse (Jörgensen, Pl. viii. 11). The "indistinct letter ξ or ζ (?) " seen by Jörgensen on the haunch of the bull on the other Museum coin (No. 7, Jörgensen, p. 171, No. 21) seems to me to be due to a defect in the die.

Messana.

Obv.—Biga of mules r.; Nike flying l. to crown the charioteer; in ex., laurel-leaf. Border of dots.

Rev.—Hare leaping r.; around, from below outwards, ΜΕΞΣΑ Ν ΙΟΝ; above hare's back, Γ

← R 32 mm. Wt. 17.33 g. From the same rev. die as the McClean specimen, *Num. Chron.*, 1916, Pl. vii. 17.

Mysia.

A selection of 165 coins, mostly bronze of Imperial date, from the collection of Mr. F. W. Hasluck, whose premature death is so great a loss to archaeology, was acquired during the year. It includes 24 coins of Apollonia, 26 of Miletopolis, 2 of Poemanenum, and 103 of Cyzicus.

Smyrna.

A selection of 16 Homereia and other bronze coins, with a useful series of magistrates' names hitherto unrepresented in the Museum, was presented by Mr. J. G. Milne.

Ionian or Carian Electrum.

Obv.—Geometric figure composed of eight lines disposed star-wise; the points of four alternate lines are joined by lines bending so as to make a square with incurved sides.

Rev.—Rectangular incuse, divided longitudinally; from the dividing line spring on each side four lateral lines, two slanting, the others perpendicular; a pellet on either side in one of the intervals, while two other intervals are crossed by subsidiary longitudinal divisions.

El. 10 mm. Wt. 2.27 g. Pl. XIV. 9. Cp. Babelon, *Traité*, i, p. 9, No. 5, and Svoronos, *L'Hellénisme primitif*, p. 190, No. 20, and Pl. xvi. 8. Presented by Prof. J. L. Myres; found in Camiros and presented to the donor on account of the resemblance of the obverse type to the Union Jack.

The provenance does not help M. Svoronos's attribution to the Pierians of the Pangæan district.

Aspendus.

An example of the rare stater with the inscription **MENETYIEAYYA** in the exergue; between the wrestlers, **FI** (23 mm., 10.79 g., Pl. XIV. 13). The Paris specimen, which has the same letters, reads **EAYYAMENETYΞ** (B. M. C., *Lycia*, &c., Pl. xlv. 16). So long as only the latter form was known, I was perhaps justified in saying (*op. cit.*, p. lxxiii) that the interpretation which regards **MENETYΞ** as a genitive, parallel to *Mάειρος*, gen. of *Mάεις*, was preferable to any other. The transposition of the two words, however, alters the case. The **I** in the new specimen may be regarded as a

faulty writing of the ξ which is certain on the Paris coin. The inscription on the new piece is somewhat broken down; the letter which is read as Υ on the Paris specimen is more like Φ on ours. M. Babelon's latest suggestion (*Traité*, ii (ii), col. 953, note) is that ΕΛΥΨΑ is a verb, meaning possibly *ἐνίκησε*. But the new variant seems rather to support the other theory, that the two words are the names of the two wrestlers. The type may, as Mr. Robinson suggests to me, carry an allusion to the games (*θέμεις*) which, as Domaszewski has shown,⁸ were instituted in 402 B.C. It is about this time that the group first appears on the coins.⁹ If, as is possible, the institution of 402 was a re-foundation of an earlier festival, and not an entirely new institution, the occasion might well have been marked by the erection of a sculptured group representing some original heroic founders.

G. F. HILL.

⁸ N. Z., 1911, p. 2.

⁹ The series, according to my dating in the B. M. Catalogue, begins about 400; according to Babelon (*Traité*, vol. cit., col. 946) about 394.





GREEK COINS AT BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD

V.

THE BALLIOL COLLEGE COLLECTION.

THE Greek and Roman coins left by the late Dr. Strachan-Davidson to Balliol College, Oxford, will already be known to many by reason of the large number of tetradrachms of Alexander the Great included in the collection. During the war I had the privilege of arranging and describing these coins for the College, and thought that some account of them might be of interest to readers of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. I should here like to express my thanks to the Master and Fellows of the College, and in particular to Mr. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, for the very special facilities which they afforded me for examining the coins, and also to Professor P. Gardner, who first suggested that I should undertake this work.

The collection numbers between 1500-1600 pieces, of which nearly 400 are Roman. Of the Roman coins approximately one-fourth belong to the pre-Christian era, and are mostly Republican denarii, fairly representative of all but the earliest periods. There are no specimens of the *aes grave*, but there are a few struck bronze coins of the period following, c. 268 B.C. The remaining 300 coins range over the Imperial period to the reign of Theodosius I, and, small as their total number may seem, they have the merit of representing nearly 100 emperors or members of the Imperial families.

The Greek coins are very unevenly divided. There are 318 coins of Alexander the Great, including 287 tetradrachms, and altogether there are nearly 400 coins of the kings of Macedon. Among them are six gold staters of Philip II, some of which are of very fine style. A barbarous imitation with plain obverse is of interest as having been found in this country, according to a note with the coin. Then there are just over 200 coins of the Ptolemies, of which the most notable are some fine specimens of the early tetradrachms of Ptolemy I, Soter, and about 130 examples of the Imperial coinage of Alexandria, the billon and bronze coinage being equally well represented. Macedon and Egypt thus account for over 700 of the total number, while Sicily and the towns of Magna Graecia have most of the more important mints represented by 230 coins. Thus it will be seen that the whole of Greece proper, Asia Minor, and the Islands only contribute between 200-300 specimens. One or two mints, such as Corinth, Athens, and Aradus, are better represented than the rest, and among the 15 Athenian tetradrachms there are some excellent coins of the sixth and fifth centuries B. C.

The coins of Alexander the Great have been examined by Mr. Newell, and any exceptional specimens will no doubt be noticed by him in due course. A tetradrachm with a small Nike not in the field but on the l. upright of the throne back of the reverse, seems an uncommon enough variety to be worth illustrating here (Fig. 5). In the same way the coins of Alexandria may be left to Mr. J. G. Milne's study of that series. In such a large collection of Alexanders there are naturally a number of fine specimens. Some have interesting

countermarks; a considerable number have been defaced by punch-marks on the obverse of varying shape, but mostly square, oblong, or trefoil pattern.

Among the coins of Magna Graecia there are three good Thurian staters and a very fine specimen of the archaic silver coins of Caulonia (Fig. 2). Syracuse is represented by over fifty specimens, and the various issues of the Romano-Campanian series more adequately represented than most other mints. There is no specimen of the silver coinage of Syracuse, c. 480-380 B.C., but there are two specimens of the electrum coins of the time of Dion and the 56 coins are nicely distributed over the whole of the lengthy period of Syracusan numismatics. Apart from the staters of Philip II already mentioned, the gold pieces include staters of Alexander the Great, Philip III, Arrhidaeus, and Carthage, a half stater of Pumiathon, king of Citium, and a small gold piece of Cyrene. There are also four gold Byzantine coins of Justinianus, Heraclius, and Constans II, and an aureus of Nero.

A somewhat more detailed account may be given of the following coins:

Nola.

Obv.—Head of nymph r., wearing plain necklace and drop ear-ring of lotus pattern; hair bound with broad diadem tied with bow over forehead; curls loose on crown of head and thickly massed above ear; meander pattern on diadem.

Rev.—Man-headed bull r.; head facing; above, Nike flying r. to crown him; short plain exergual line; in exergue, ΝΩΛΛΙΟ[Σ], part of top bar of last letter visible.

Ar † 21.5 mm. Wt. 111.2 gr. (7.2 grm.). Fig. 1.

This magnificent didrachm is from the same obverse die as a coin in the McClean collection, which I have

already described in these pages, but have wrongly attributed to Neapolis (*Num. Chron.*, 1916, p. 202). In the case of a number of anepigraphic coins of these types it had already been supposed that the reverse dies were in some cases cut for the mint of Nola (Sambon, *Monnaies antiques de l'Italie*, 342, 347, 352, &c.), and the Balliol coin will serve as a fresh starting-point when it again becomes possible to make a fresh examination of such coins.

Rubi and Silvium?

Obv.—Head of Athena r., in Corinthian helmet.

Rev.—ΣΙ PY to l. Ear of corn on stem with leaf to r.; to r., cornucopiae.

.R ↓ 12 mm. Wt. 17.2 gr. (1.11 grm.). Fig. 4.

This little coin is not unknown, as there are several specimens in the British Museum. They are not mentioned in the *Historia Numorum*, and it is possible that publication may lead to some fresh light being thrown on the conjectural attribution of the unknown town of Silvium as one of the joint mints.

Velia.

Obv.—Head of Athena r., in crested Athenian helmet adorned with griffin, running r. and palmette pattern; hair escaping over forehead and tied in a thick bunch below flap of helmet, the ends loose; to r., IP in sunk square.

Rev.—YELH[ΤΩΝ] around to r.; lion l., seizing stag l., and bringing it to the ground.

1. .R (plated) → 21 mm. Wt. 102.5 gr. (6.64 grm.).
Fig. 3.

2. .Æ from same obverse die ↑ 21 mm. Wt. 112.6 gr.
(7.29 grm.). Fig. 3.

In arranging the McClean coins I came across an undescribed bronze coin of Velia of the usual didrachm

types which appeared to be the core of a coin originally plated. This coin is at present only accessible to me in illustration, but I think there is little doubt that the obverse die was that from which the two Balliol coins were struck. It would be interesting to add to these specimens with a view to determining as far as is possible the likelihood of all the coins of this issue having been plated. It has already been suggested that all the existing specimens of the bronze coin of Cumae with a young male head for obverse and the Skylla for reverse type were originally plated.

Syracuse.

Obv.—Young male head (Zeus Hellanios) l., laureate; to r., trophy; around to l., ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ; border of dots.

Rev.—Eagle with spread wings l., standing on thunderbolt; to l., star of sixteen rays; around to l., ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ; linear circle.

Æ ← 24 mm. Wt. 7.8 gr. (120.4 grm.). Fig. 6.

This variety with ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ instead of ΔΙΟΣ-ΕΛΛΑΝΙΟΥ on the obverse does not seem to have been described. The collection contains an example of the Zeus Hellanios coin re-struck over the bronze coin of Agathocles, with the thunderbolt and name of the king on the reverse. See *Num. Chron.*, 1916, p. 40.

Pessinus.

There is an example, too poor for reproduction, of the interesting and rare coin of Pessinus published by Imhoof-Blumer, *Griech. Münz.*, p. 750, No. 748.

Obv. Jugate bust of Aty and Cybele. *Rev.* ΜΗΤΡΟΣ [Θ]ΕΩΝ ΠΕΣΣΙ[ΝΕΑΣ] Lion, l.; above, caps of Dioscuri.

S. W. GROSE.

VI.

ESSAI DE LECTURE DES LÉGENDES SÉMITIQUES DES MONNAIES CHARACÉNIENNES.

APRÈS avoir pendant très longtemps (de 125 av. J.-C. à 113 ap.) frappé des monnaies à légendes grecques,¹ les dynastes de la Characène, imitant en cela leurs suzerains, les Arsacides et leurs voisins, les princes



ΒΑCΙΑΕΥC ΑΤΤΑΜΒΗΛΟΝ CΩΤΗΡΟC

a 100 1/2 b
T A M ?

FIG. 1 a, b.

de l'Élymaïde, ont introduit dans leurs textes la langue et les caractères indigènes.

C'est sur les monnaies d'Attambelos II (57 ap. J.-C.) que nous voyons paraître pour la première fois l'écriture characénienne.² Elle se montre sous la forme

¹ Consulter E. Babelon, *Sur la Numismatique et la Chronologie des dynastes de la Characène* dans le *Journal d'Archéologie et de Numismatique d'Athènes*, t. i, 1898, p. 381 à 404, 2 Pl. Mémoire dans lequel l'auteur donne en même temps que les résultats de ses études personnelles ceux des travaux de ses devanciers.

² Mr. E. Babelon, Pl. II, n° 9, attribue cette médaille à Attambelos IV, mais la date que porte cette pièce est incertaine et l'effigie présente de grandes analogies avec le n° 2 de la même planche, médaille qui porte la date certaine ΤΕΓ (A. D. 53).

d'une ligne discrètement placée au-dessus de la légende grecque de gauche (Fig. 1 *a*) et d'une lettre isolée (Fig. 1 *b*) située sous le bras droit de la représentation d'Héraklès. Je propose de voir, dans la première de ces inscriptions, les initiales du nom du prince $\alpha\eta$ et, dans la seconde, la lettre ω , début du titre $\omega\mu\lambda\alpha$.



- $\alpha\eta\omega\mu\lambda\alpha$ *a.*
 $\omega\mu\lambda\alpha$ *b.*
 $\alpha\eta\omega\mu\lambda\alpha$ *c.*
 $\omega\mu\lambda\alpha$ *d.*
 $\alpha\eta\omega\mu\lambda\alpha$ *e.*

FIG. 2.

Attambelos aurait donc imité l'exemple de son suzerain Vologèse I (51-77/78 ap. J.-C.) qui inscrit au droit de ses tétroboles les premières lettres de son nom, $\alpha\eta$. En ce cas, la première lettre ω représenterait α , tout comme dans l'écriture moderne mandaita, et la seconde

serait *n*, forme spéciale au characénien, mais qui rencontre de frappantes analogies dans le nabathéen, le pehlvi arsacide et le mandéen moderne, ne se séparant de cette dernière forme que par la fermeture complète de la boucle.

Cette hypothèse, extrêmement plausible, car on se demande quel autre sens pourraient avoir ces lettres, servira de base à l'étude des autres textes inscrits sur les monnaies.

Dans les légendes des pièces que Ed. Drouin² attribue à son prince *Binégâ*, nous voyons figurer deux mots seulement (Fig. 2).

Le premier de ces mots commence par la lettre *ṣ* et se termine par *ḵ*. Sa lecture מלכא = *MaLKA* n'est pas douteuse; car la même forme de la lettre *ḵ* se retrouve en estranghélo, en nabathéen, dans les textes d'Édesse, en pehlvi arsacide et sassanide et dans le mandéen moderne. Quant au *ṣ*, il est très voisin de l'estranghélo et du mandéen.³

Il ne peut y avoir de doute au sujet de la valeur de ces quatre lettres. Nous sommes donc en possession de cinq signes répondant aux sons *A.M.L.T* et *K*.

Le second mot de la légende ne peut être que le nom du prince qui a frappé la médaille et auquel se rapporte le titre מלכא que d'ailleurs on doit lire en second *X. MaLKA.* et non *MaLKA. X.* Ce mot se compose de quatre lettres et de trois points.

Rapprochées des alphabets sémitiques dont il a été

² Ed. Drouin, *Essai de déchiffrement des monnaies à légendes araméennes de la Characène* dans la *Revue de Numismatique*, 1889, t. ii, p. 211 à 254, Pl. V à VII, et 1889, t. iii, p. 361 à 384.

³ Comparer ce mot avec celui écrit sur les monnaies d'Édesse (*Ma'ann, Wael, Abgar, etc. . .*).

question au sujet du mot **MaLKA**, la première lettre semble devoir être lue 2, la seconde 1 et la troisième 2, la quatrième étant 8. Ceci donnerait comme lecture, abstraction faite des points, **BNGA**, mot dont Ed. Drouin a fait *Binégâ*.

Ed. Drouin négligeait les points, les considérant comme indicatifs de séparation entre les mots. S'il en était ainsi, cette partie de la légende ne comprendrait pas seulement un mot, mais deux, l'un formé d'une lettre isolée **B** et l'autre composé de trois signes **NCA** et, de ce fait, la lecture *Binégâ* serait fautive. De plus, on ne comprend pas la présence d'un point séparatif précédant le mot **BNGA**, alors que de l'autre côté du champ, à droite, le mot **MaLKA** ne possède aucune ponctuation, ni après ni avant. De plus, l'usage de séparer les mots par des points n'est pas conforme à ce que nous connaissons des légendes numismatiques de ces temps dans les pays voisins de la Characène. C'est ainsi que les Arsacides, les princes de la Perside, ceux de l'Élam, les Nabathéens, les Himyarites ne séparent pas les mots comme le fait à lieu dans certaines inscriptions phéniciennes lapidaires, et il en sera de même plus tard dans les légendes pehlvies-sassanides et arabes.

Nous devons donc admettre que ces points ont valeur de lettre, et le fait qu'ils manquent, dans le même mot, sur une monnaie du musée de Berlin (Fig. 2 *b*) fait penser que le point représente une voyelle et non une consonne.

Quelle valeur pouvait avoir ce point? — En examinant les divers alphabets du même groupe nous voyons dans l'hébreu, l'araméen, le syriaque, l'estranghelo, etc. ... que la lettre *l* est représentée par une virgule et prend

une valeur que les Arabes ont souvent rendue par la lettre ع, que les Hébreux figuraient par ך, gutturale dont, dans nos légendes, l'inscription ne semble pas avoir été indispensable.⁵

Ainsi la lecture du nom princier serait: 'IB'INGA'I, probablement même 'IB'IN'GA'I عبنغاي, nom propre déjà connu, ABINEPΓAOC, dans lequel les Hellènes n'ont pas figuré le ع, dont ils ne possédaient pas l'équivalent dans leur alphabet, et ont rendu le غ, c'est-à-dire la cinquième lettre, points compris, par ΠΓΑ, consonnance traduisant à peu de chose près la gutturale sémitique.

Nous obtenons ainsi neuf lettres de l'alphabet characénien: A, B, 'I(ع), N, 'C(غ), L, M, K, T.

Examinons maintenant, en nous appuyant sur ces données, la légende la plus complète de la série sémitique characénienne: celle dont on possède le plus grand nombre d'exemplaires, et que Ed. Drouin lit *Maun-Artabaze*.

Cette légende, inscrite au pourtour de la tête du prince, semble se composer de trois mots; cette coupure d'ailleurs avait été reconnue par Drouin.

Dans les légendes des nombreux exemplaires de cette médaille que nous possédons, il existe de grandes variantes de la forme des lettres; le tableau ci-contre (Fig. 3) montre les principales.

Dans le dernier mot à gauche, MaLKA, nous trouvons une forme spéciale de la lettre ܠ, forme dont les trois autres lettres du mot précisent la valeur.

Le premier mot, à droite, débute par la lettre ܡ, suivie de ܝ et de ܠ, que nous connaissons toutes trois par la

⁵ On sait que ع peut en arabe se lire I, A, E, O, qu'il remplace toutes les voyelles en leur donnant un son guttural.

légende d'Abinerghlos II. Quant au trait oblique qui dans certains cas est lié au ז, il correspond à la lettre Z dans les divers alphabets apparentés au characénien (araméen perse, papyrus achéménides, hébreu carré,



DROIT.

1. ◦ 𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤓 ◦ 𐤓𐤕𐤕𐤓 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕
2. ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕
3. ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕
4. ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕
5. ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕
6. ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕
7. ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕

REVERS.

1. ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕
2. ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕
3. ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕
4. ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕
5. ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕
6. ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕 ◦ 𐤕𐤕𐤕𐤕

FIG. 3.

palmyrénien, syriaque, nabathéen, mandéen). Nous obtenons donc pour le premier groupe MAGaZI.

Le groupe médian commence par la lettre 𐤕 suivi d'un 𐤕, et les lettres qui viennent après sont : 𐤕, 𐤕, 𐤕, 𐤕, 𐤕. Ce qui donne pour le nom entier ATAMB'IAZ,

ATaMB'IAZ, dans lequel on ne peut voir qu'ATTAMBHAOS des Grecs.

Ainsi la légende complète donne :

MA'Ga Z'I ATaMB'IAZ MaLKA.

Magha [fils] d'Attambelos roi.

Peut-être devons-nous rapprocher cet ATaMB'IAZ d'Attambelos IV, l'avant-dernier prince ayant frappé (en 113 de notre ère) avec légendes grecques. En ce cas Magha aurait précédé au trône IBINGA et suivi Obadas.

Une autre médaille que Drouin attribue à Artabaze II porte la légende de la Fig. 4 = מלכא [מ]אדבאז = MaLKA [M]ADABAZ.



○ 00M70107040

FIG. 4.

Enfin viennent quelques monnaies très mal conservées, dont les légendes sont effacées ou tronquées et qu'il est préférable de passer sous silence jusqu'à ce que nous en parvenions des exemplaires plus propres à l'étude.

Quant aux légendes des revers, pas plus qu'E. Drouin nous ne parvenons à les interpréter. On y rencontre des lettres connues telles que n, i, n, d'autres inconnues, et des monogrammes ou ligatures assez compliqués.

3^e Monn. de Binéga (Drouin 1, 2, 3, 4). Dr. Buste vêtu, diadème ou tiare peu élevée.

Rv. Hercule.

4^e „ ? ? (Drouin, 5). Dr. Même buste que 1, 2, 3, 4.

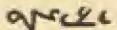
Rv. Buste vêtu, tête nue.

5^e „ de Maan-Artabaze. Dr. Buste vêtu, tiare.

Rv. Buste nu, tête nue ? (On peut y voir des traces d'un diadème.)


“ Pour les n^{os} 2 à 5 il semble bien que l'ordre chronologique est suffisamment assuré. La monnaie d'Obadas, avec sa légende grecque, précède celle de Binéga (de Drouin), et celle-ci, en raison de son type de revers, précède le n^o 4, qui serait la première des monnaies à double effigie. Toutefois je possède une pièce qui pourrait faire croire à un ordre chronologique différent : c'est une pièce de Binéga au revers d'Hercule, sur laquelle on voit nettement sur la face et au revers des traces de frappes antérieures ; au revers, l'ancienne frappe est très visible, c'est le bas d'un buste vêtu, d'une pièce à double effigie ; sur la face, la frappe ancienne moins visible se réduit à des traces de profil, en avant de celui de Binéga. Ces frappes antérieures semblent bien appartenir soit au type n^o 4, soit au type n^o 5. S'il en était ainsi, le type Binéga pourrait être le dernier de la série à légende sémitique, ce qui appuierait la lecture Binéga de Drouin qui compare ce nom à celui de Bindja ? que portait, d'après Tabari, le dernier roi de Characène, au moment de la conquête sassanide. Toutefois ces traces de frappe antérieure peuvent appartenir à la double effigie n^o 4. Ce qui permettrait de voir, dans la pièce de Maan-Artabaze, les dernières monnaies de la série. Il est à noter, d'ailleurs,

mandéenne de **BINCA**. Si donc l'on admet pour le type 3 l'une des deux lectures :

IBIGNA =  mandéen.

IBI'ANA =  "



ces lectures supposent l'identité du characénien du II^e siècle avec le mandéen dont les formes les plus anciennes ne sont connues que vers le VII^e s. par les coupes magiques et aussi par les amulettes sur lames de plomb, qui peuvent remonter au VI^e.

"Drouin, pour expliquer le nom de Binega assimilé par lui à Bindja, dont Tabari fait un roi de la Characène à l'époque de la conquête sassanide, a pensé qu'on pourrait, pour certaines lettres, comparer à l'édessien ou à l'estranghélo; c'est ainsi qu'il arrive à lire > = J = N estrang. et édess., V = > = G estr. et édess. Il est à remarquer que pour > comme pour V l'analogie avec l'édessien et l'estranghélo est loin d'être parfaite. Mais ce qui est plus difficile à admettre, dans les lectures de Drouin, c'est que la même lettre V est lue G dans le type 3 et ع dans *Ma'an* du type 5. D'ailleurs la lecture *Bindja* du roi de Mésène cité par Tabari est loin d'être certaine. On a lu le nom . *بيوكا, ناوند, بدق* (Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*).

"Dans l'hypothèse de l'identité de l'écriture de nos légendes avec l'écriture mandéenne, je lirai la légende du revers du type 5

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14
MaANU·ASTAB·AZ·

1 2 3 4

"Pour la lecture  = **MaANU**, je crois que, de même que pour **MaLKA**, la voyelle A de la première syllabe n'est pas écrite et que l'ع que l'on trouve dans les monnaies  de **Ma'ANU**, roi d'Édesse, est rem-

placé en mandéen par $O = A$, substitution très fréquente dans les textes mandéens. Quant à $\aleph = NU$, on le trouve presque identique dans les textes. Le premier . (5) est vraisemblablement un point séparatif du mot, le second, n° 11, est plus embarrassant. Si l'on admet la lecture **ARTABAZ** de Drouin, il faudrait y voir un point diacritique, qui pourrait être comparé au point du beth hébreu, qui distingue les deux prononciations **B** et **BH** = $\aleph \beth$ et \beth . Je crois bien que le \aleph mandéen avait également les deux prononciations. J'en trouve un indice dans le fait que le nom d'un des génies des Mandéens, $\aleph \beth \aleph \beth$, est lu Hivel Ziu par Sionffi (*Étude sur la religion des Soubbas*, 1880), qui écrit sous la dictée d'un Mandéen, tandis que $\aleph \beth$ est lu Bar. On peut remarquer aussi que, dans nos légendes, le . se trouve deux fois suivre le \beth : en résumé cette, question de la valeur du ., tantôt lettre I, tantôt signe séparatif et tantôt indice diacritique, reste bien obscure.

"La valeur $\aleph = R$ admise par Drouin est également bien discutable, plus encore celle de $\aleph = L$ qui, dans la seconde partie de la légende, se trouve dans (Fig. 3, revers) lu **MaLKA**.

"Il est à noter que cette seconde partie (centripète) n'est pas la suite normale de la première partie (centrifuge), comme cela serait naturel dans une légende circulaire, 'Ma'an Artabaze roi.' C'est une raison pour douter de la lecture **MaLKA**. Épigraphiquement, la lecture la plus probable de \aleph est $\aleph = \aleph$ mandéen, ce qui pourrait faire croire à une lecture $\aleph \beth \aleph \beth$ **MSBA**, si fréquent dans les prières mandéennes $\aleph \beth \aleph \beth \aleph \beth \aleph \beth$ = **MeSABA MARAI** = *loué (soit) mon seigneur*.

"Je n'ose insister sur une pareille interprétation; pour

être complet, je rappelle celle de Lenormant qui voit un H dans la première lettre et lit: **HSBA** [voir ce qu'en dit Drouin]. J'y ajouterai que sur certains tétradrachmes frappés en Sicile par les Carthaginois on lit **𐤇𐤑𐤃𐤇𐤏** = **MHSBM** (fort discuté); en séparant la préposition initiale **M**, on y trouve la même racine **HSB**, qui peut s'interpréter 'bois, pilotis', vraisemblablement un ancien nom de ville maritime, un port.

" Dans tout ce qui précède j'ai cherché à m'appuyer sur l'écriture mandéenne. Si l'on veut mettre à contribution d'autres écritures sémitiques, il me semble que l'on peut utiliser l'écriture des monnaies de l'Élymaïde. On y trouve: $\text{U} = \text{U} = \text{I}$. On ne saurait négliger non plus les monnaies des derniers Arsacides, presque contemporaines.

𐤅𐤋𐤂𐤏𐤔𐤁𐤏 **ULGaSI MaLKA.**

𐤅𐤋𐤂𐤏𐤔𐤁𐤏

𐤅𐤋𐤂𐤏𐤔𐤁𐤏

𐤅𐤋𐤂𐤏𐤔𐤁𐤏 **HaRTaBI MaLKA.**

" La forme du **G** dans **ULGaSI** est identique à celle de **𐤅𐤋𐤂𐤏𐤔𐤁𐤏**. Le **𐤏** = **T** de **HaRTaBI** est bien celle de notre Artabaze. À noter **I** = **I**.

" Pour terminer, je m'abstiendrai de toute interprétation des légendes de la face du type 5; le **𐤇𐤏𐤔𐤁𐤏** est particulièrement embarrassant. Nous avons trois légendes sur cette face, en trois lignes superposées, **𐤇𐤏𐤔𐤁𐤏**. Il semblerait naturel de voir un nom propre dans la première ligne et deux épithètes dans les autres. Toutefois on peut penser, comme Drouin, à voir un titre dans la ligne supérieure, bien que, dans les légendes sémitiques, le titre suive le nom.

" Comme conclusion, je n'arrive à aucune certitude

et je crois qu'il faut se contenter d'hypothèses. La lecture **BINaGA** de Drouin vaut peut-être celles de **IBIGNA** ou **IBI'ANA**, bien que celles-ci puissent, à la rigueur, se justifier par d'anciens noms propres tels que **IBIG ISTAR** et **IBI SIN**, dans lesquels le premier élément ait une racine verbale dûment constatée et le second un nom de divinité. **IBIGNA** serait l'abréviation de **IBIG *NA(na)** et **IBI 'ANA** aurait pour deux éléments le nom du dieu *Anou*. Il ne faudrait pas trop s'étonner de voir des noms très anciens conservés en Characène. Des noms tels que **IDIN NERGL**, **HYSPAOSIN**, **ADAD NADIN AKHI** ont conservé leurs formes très anciennes. Toutefois je n'attache pas grande importance à l'explication étymologique que je propose.

" Vous avez proposé, si je me souviens bien, de voir dans **IBINaGA** une corruption d'**ABINERGL**. Babelon l'a également proposé; je crois que je ne l'admettrai pas facilement. Les noms des dieux anciens *Bel*, *Nebo*, *Nergal* ont été conservés avec une étonnante fixité chez les Mandéens, aussi bien que chez les Characéniens qui, sur leurs monnaies, écrivent toujours **NERGL** pour *Nergal*. Les Mandéens, dans leur liturgie, connaissent toujours le dieu *Nirig* et le troisième jour de la semaine lui est consacré. J'ai peine à croire que, sur nos monnaies, ce nom soit altéré: d'ailleurs le mot **ABI** du commencement du nom ne s'est jamais prononcé, je crois, **IBI**.

" La seule conclusion certaine que je crois pouvoir formuler avec Babelon, c'est que les neuf souverains de Drouin se réduisent à deux ou trois: *Binega* et *Maan Artabaze* (ou *Artabi?*). Les légendes où il lit *Artabaze* (sans *Maan*) sont des légendes mal venues

dans lesquelles *Maan* est illisible. La légende Delizare n'a jamais existé, c'est une légende corrompue."

(ALLOTTE DE LA FUYE.)

Depuis que j'ai commencé l'étude de ce groupe de médailles, c'est-à-dire depuis 1910, je partage l'opinion de E. Babelon et du C^t Allotte de la Fuyé, quant au nombre des princes characéniens qui ont frappé des monnaies à légendes sémitiques; je n'en compte que trois: ABINERGLOS II; MAGA, fils d'ATTAMBELOS (IV) et MADABAZ; mais les médailles nous fournissent quatre noms. Le père de Maga serait probablement ATTAMBELOS IV (le prédécesseur d'Obadas) qui frappe en grec avec ses initiales en characénien. Ces princes se succéderaient donc ainsi: 1^o Attambelos IV, 2^o Obadas, 3^o Maga, 4^o Abinerglos II, 5^o Madabaz; l'ordre de ces deux derniers n'étant pas certain. Quant aux autres médailles, leur état de conservation ne permet pas de dire si elles appartiennent aux princes dont les noms sont connus, ou s'il y aura lieu d'inscrire dans la liste de nouveaux dynastes.

Les savantes et très judicieuses observations de M. le C^t Allotte de la Fuyé éclairent largement la question au point de vue des conditions générales de la Characène au moment où ces médailles ont été émises; elles montrent combien les traditions antiques s'étaient conservées sur les rives du Chatt-el-Arab et, par suite, dans quel esprit pouvaient et devaient être rédigées les légendes des pièces, mais ne concluent ni au point de vue épigraphique ni à celui de la lecture.

Il n'existe aucune raison pour que les noms que nous possédons seulement par leurs transcriptions grecques, *Hyspaosines*, *Apodacos*, *Tiraños*, *Attambelos*,

Abinerglos, *Adinnerglos*, *Théonnèsès*, *Artabazè*, ne se soient pas conservés en Characène. Ces noms ne sont pas de racine grecque, ils sont characéniens, c'est-à-dire sémitiques, et, comme le fait observer M. le Colonel Allotte de la Fuye, contiennent des noms divins antiques. Ils appartenaient à la famille des princes characéniens de même que le nom de *Kamnaskir* appartenait aux princes susiens, aussi le retrouvons-nous dans *Kamnaskir-Orode* associé à un nom parthe. En Characène l'influence des Arsacides était moins grande qu'en Élam, et il ne semble pas y avoir eu de changement de dynastie comme à Suse. Aussi sommes-nous portés à rechercher dans les légendes sémitiques de cette principauté les noms que nous connaissons déjà par leur transcription grecque. La première question qui se pose est donc celle de la lecture des textes. Or, je l'ai montré au début de cette étude ; en partant des initiales d'Attambelos IV et de la première lettre de son titre de roi, on peut, je pense, conclure.

Attambelos IV (vers 113 ap. J.-C.) était le contemporain du grand roi arsacide Vologèse II (78-147 ap. J.-C.) ; il n'est donc pas surprenant qu'il ait adopté l'usage de figurer sur ses monnaies ses initiales, comme le faisait le roi des rois, et ces initiales fournissent la lecture de trois lettres qui servent de point de départ au déchiffrement des légendes.

Quant à l'usage des points, qui, jusqu'ici, a été le grand obstacle rencontré par les Orientalistes dans la lecture de la légende (Fig. 2), il ne peut être à plusieurs fins, il ne peut jouer en même temps le rôle de lettre, d'accent et de ponctuation. Il n'est pas un point séparatif des mots ; car on ne le voit pas dans

la première partie de la légende. Il n'est donc que lettre ou accent, les deux en même temps très probablement, comme en hébreu, et c'est ainsi qu'on le doit lire, à mon avis.

L'écriture characénienne dont nous avons des exemples sur les monnaies date du II^e siècle de notre ère. Elle existait certainement déjà auparavant; mais c'est au II^e siècle seulement qu'elle devint officielle (comme l'araméen en Élam et chez les Parthes, à Édesse etc.), et les plus anciens spécimens de l'écriture mandéenne que nous possédons sont du VI^e et du VII^e siècle. Il y a donc seulement un écart de quatre siècles entre ces divers documents; et rien n'est plus naturel que de trouver dans les légendes du II^e siècle l'écriture mandéenne déjà constituée, tout en contenant encore bien des hésitations dans la forme des lettres.

Il faut se souvenir de ce que le mandaïte, qui s'est développé dans la basse Chaldée, avait pour voisines les écritures nabathéenne, pehlvie arsacide, araméenne de l'Élam, d'Édesse, et que, forcément, il a subi leur influence au cours de son développement.

Quant au fait de rencontrer des textes partagés en deux sections, l'une centrifuge, l'autre centripète, il n'a rien qui nous doive surprendre; car en Bactriane, entre autres, les légendes grecques et indiennes offrent constamment ce caractère à partir d'une certaine époque et, en Élam, on rencontre des textes grecs par moitié écrits de gauche à droite et par moitié rétrogrades. On n'attachait donc pas dans la région chaldéo-susienne grande importance au sens dans lequel était tracée l'écriture.

Monsieur de Morgan having done me the honour to invite my criticism of his views on the difficult question which he has handled with so much lucidity, I append a few notes, although I am not competent to criticize his interpretation from the point of view of Semitic philology.

1. The interpretation of the letter π below the arm of Heracles on the coin of Attambelos II as the initial of $\pi\lambda\alpha$ appears to me to be doubtful. Such letters begin to appear on the coins of earlier kings,⁷ and are so various that they must be regarded as differential.

2. The reading $\Lambda\text{BINN}\pi\Gamma\Lambda\text{O}$ is by no means certain. I cannot here go into the details of the question; but it is sufficient to say that while the reading $\Lambda\Delta\text{INN}\pi\Gamma\Lambda\text{O}$ on the Paris specimen is certain, there is no evidence whatever to support Waddington's different reading $\Lambda\text{BINN}\pi\Gamma\Lambda\text{O}$ on the London coin. The numismatic authority for a form Abinnerglos thus disappears. True, Josephus has the form Abennerigos; but it is not impossible that the original sound may have appeared to one Greek ear to resemble B , and to another to be more like Δ . That the form preserved in the text of Josephus is not corrupt is proved by the name of the Pompeian merchant M. Valerius Abinericus (*C. I. L.* iv. 5611-20; cp. A. W. Van Buren in *Class. Journ* xv, 1920, p. 406).

The two letters which M. de Morgan reads TM

⁷ E. g. Attambelos I and II, according to the new notation. For I may observe here that in July last five coins of a new Attambelos, two of which bear dates 269 and 272 A. S., were acquired by the British Museum. The numbers of the later kings called Attambelos should therefore be increased by one, and the Attambelos mentioned above is really the third of that name.

I prefer with Col. Allotte de la Fuyé to read **ST**, and suggest that the combination of the samech with the tau was intended to indicate the intermediate sound which one of the Greek versions of the name (*Ἀθάμβηλος*) represents by *θ* and the other (*Σάμβηλος*) by *σ*. We thus get the form **A_S^TABIAZ**. There is no **M** in this name, and it may be observed that one of the vv. ll. in Dion Cassius is *Ἀθάβηλος*.

G. F. HILL.

VII.

A FIND OF COINS OF EADGAR, EADWEARD II, AND ÆTHELRED II AT CHESTER.

THE coins described in this article were found in August, 1914, during street repairs in Chester, lying about 3 feet south from the North Wall of the City, opposite the eastern angle of Pemberton's Parlour, Water Tower Street. They were buried at a depth of between three and four feet below the existing surface of the road. Prof. Robert Newstead, F.R.S., who is well known for the interest which he takes in the antiquities of Chester, set to work to obtain as complete a record as possible, and also to prevent the finders from consigning the coins to the melting-pot or otherwise destroying them. The only way to do this—thanks to the ineffectiveness of the present Law of Treasure Trove—was to buy as many as he could, and to obtain permission to examine any others that he could trace. He himself secured no less than sixty-eight, out of which, with great public spirit, he has given to the British Museum any that are required to fill gaps in the National Collection. He also succeeded in tracing and sending up to me for examination a number of other coins which were or had been in the hands of two persons. One of these, Alderman W. Vernon, J.P., has since kindly presented to the Museum eight out of the seventeen coins which were in his possession. Every serious numismatist will agree that students of Anglo-Saxon coins are greatly indebted to Professor Newstead for his services in preventing the destruction of an interesting body of evidence. It would seem

that very nearly the whole of the find has been available for examination; but as the coins are in a very fragile, and often broken, condition, it is probable that many fragments have not been recovered. Professor Newstead was also able to note a few pieces of which trace has since been lost.

The analysis of what has been seen is as follows. The coins are all silver pennies.

EADGAR. (959-75.)

Type vi. (Bust l. <i>Rev.</i> —Small cross.)	
Canterbury ¹ (one cut $\frac{1}{2}$ d.)	3
Derby	1
Leicester	1
Lymne	1
Oxford	1
Rochester	3
Southampton ¹	7
Stamford	2
Winchester	3
York	2
	— 24

EADWEARD II. (975-9.)

Type i. (Bust l. <i>Rev.</i> —Small cross.)	
Bedford ¹	6
Chester	2
Guildford	1
Lincoln	7
London	3
Lymne	2
Norwich	2
Oxford	1
Rochester	2
Southampton	4
Stamford	11
Tamworth	2
Wilton	2
Winchester	1
York	4
Uncertain Mints ¹	2
	— 52

¹ Including one seen by Prof. Newstead, but not by myself.

ÆTHELRED II. (978-1013; 1014-16.)

Type i. (Bust l. *Rev.*—Small cross.)

Bedford	4	
Chester	2	
Derby	7	
Lincoln	10	
Stamford	4	
Tamworth	2	
Totnes	1	
York	2	
Uncertain Mint (Canterbury?)	1	
	—	33

Type i, variety; not in B.M. or Hildebrand. (Bust l. with sceptre. *Rev.*—Small cross with pellet off end of each arm.)

Canterbury	1	
	—	1

Type ii. (Bust l. *Rev.*—Hand of Providence.)

Chester	2	
Shrewsbury	1	
	—	3

Type ii, var. a. (Bust r.)

Chester	2	
London	3	
Winchester	1	
York	1	
Uncertain (York or Norwich)	1	
	—	8

Uncertain king (Eadgar or Eadweard II.)

Type vi of Eadgar, type i of Eadweard.

Stamford	1	
	—	1
		122

Details are discussed in connexion with the descriptions of the individual coins. Here I may notice one or two points of more general interest.² The mint of

² On several of the proper names I have had the advantage of consulting Mr. W. H. Stevenson, who has kindly allowed me to quote his views.

Guildford appears for the first time under Eadweard II; hitherto the earliest evidence of this mint being in operation dates from Æthelred II's reign: a coin from the Evans Collection, now in the British Museum, struck by Dunstan, and others at Stockholm. These are of Æthelred's Type iv (Hild. D, var. a). In addition to the new variety of the first type of Æthelred, I note the occurrence of the already known variety of the small cross type, with an annulet in the field, at Stamford under Eadweard II and Æthelred II, and also at Tamworth. Another curious variety is seen in the treatment of the bust on the coins of Æthelred. On many coins of his first type three curved rays, ending in pellets near the inner circle, project from the right shoulder; they evidently represent a loose end of his mantle. On some coins of inferior workmanship the rays are omitted, and only the three pellets remain: evidently the result of unintelligent copying.

Does the find throw any light on the chronology of the types? It will be observed that one type, the small cross, is common to all three reigns. Unless reasons of high authority intervene, it is natural to suppose that they were in use continuously; in other words, that the small-cross type is the last of Eadgar and the first of Æthelred. Otherwise, how are we to account for the entire absence of coins of other types of Eadgar? As regards Æthelred, a discussion of the subject took place some years ago in the pages of the *Chronicle*.³ I do not propose to reopen the question, which seems to me to have been decided satisfactorily in Mr. Brooke's favour; but will merely say that if the

³ *Num. Chron.*, 1910 (Messrs. H. A. Parsons and G. C. Brooke).

small-cross type had not been in use until the end of Æthelred's reign, as Mr. Parsons tried to prove, this hoard could never have been constituted as it was.

G. F. HILL.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FIND.*

EADGAR.

Type vi (Hildebrand, C 2). Bust l., diademed; around, inscription (+EADGARREXANGLORX) between two circles, the inner plain, the outer pearled. *Rev.* Small cross pattée; around, inscription between two circles as on obverse.

Canterbury.

1. *Rev.* +BOEAM⁻OC⁻ENT.

Cp. BOEAL at Canterbury, Carlyon-Britton Sale, 1 (1913), lot 434. Boga struck at Canterbury in the next reign (Hildebrand, p. 19, No. 2), and is presumably the same as the BOIA of that mint under Æthelred II (B.M. 16, 17; Hildebrand 128-34). [*Boga* no doubt represents *Boia* (whence "boy" ?), written in O.E. as *Boga*, &c., with the palatal *g* (= *y*). W. H. S.]

2. *Rev.* +PINEM⁻OC[]T Chipped.

Wine struck at Canterbury in the next reign (Hildebrand, p. 19, No. 3). I have not seen this coin, which is no longer to be traced.

3. *Obv.* +EADGARRE[] *Rev.* +PINEM⁻[]

Cut halfpenny. Same rev. die as Alexander Mann Sale (1917) 163, Pl. iv.

* A dot under a letter indicates that it is more or less obliterated on the original, but that the reading may be regarded as fairly certain. The coins, as a rule, are in a very fragile state, and many are badly encrusted. If it is possible to clean them, some of my readings may require modification.

*Derby.*4. *Rev.* +OSVLFM-ODEORBY

Cf. B. M. 8 (same *obv.*, different *rev.* die); Carlyon-Britton Sale, I (1913), lot 435 is from same dies as B. M. 8.

*Leicester.*5. *Rev.* +MANIM-OLIFAR•

Cp. Hildebrand, No. 22.

*Lymne.*6. *Rev.* +ÆÐESTANM-OLIM.+. .

Ælthestan at Lymne (LIME): Montagu Sale, I, lot 716 (now in B. M.).

*Oxford.*7. *Rev.* +PVLFREDNO-NON+Λ

Cf. Hildebrand 34; Montagu Sale, I (1895), lot 725: both read OXNA.

*Rochester.*8. *Rev.* +SIDEMANM-ORHO•

Cf. B. M. 40; Hildebrand 36.

9. *Obv.* +EADGEAREX[]OX

Rev. []DEMANM-ORHO[] Broken.

The E on *obv.* seems clear; but cp. No. 50.

10. *Rev.* +SIDEHAN[] Broken.*Southampton.*11. *Rev.* +EADNOÐM-OHAMTV•

This moneyer occurs at this mint in the next reign (Hildebrand 7).

12. Another, similar, seen by Prof. R. Newstead, now missing.

13. *Rev.* +LEOFSILIN-ONANT•

Cp. Carlyon-Britton Sale, I, lot 437, and the name Leofsig on B. M. 16, 17, Leofsaige in Reynolds Sale (1914), lot 62.

14, 15. Two others, same dies as preceding. Broken.

16. Another, similar.

17. *Rev.* +OSPOLDM-OHAMTV

Cp. Carlyon-Britton Sale, III (1918), lot 1707, Pl. xxxviii (same dies).

Stamford.

18. *Rev.* +ÆSCHANM-OSTAN

Cp. B. M. 41.

19. *Rev.* +ENAPAM-OSTANFO

Same dies as B. M. 42.

Winchester.

20. *Rev.* +ÆLFSIGEMOFIITNI (no cross in field).

Cp. Hildebrand 47; Rashleigh Sale (1909), lot 276.

21. *Obv.* ends Λ-NEL-OZ

Rev. +PIHTSIGEMOPINTO

Cp. B. M. 53 (Wynsige, Type iii); Hildebrand 56.

22. Another, ends PINT (?). Broken.

York.

23. *Rev.* +VNSPACM-OEFER

[The name is the O.E. form of O.N. *Öspakr*. W.H.S.]
Hildebrand gives "Unswac" at Shrewsbury under Æthelred II (Nos. 3380-1).

24. *Obv.* []R RE+AN[]

Rev. +ODA[]ICI Broken.

Oda is known as a York moneyer under Eadgar (Nunn Sale, 115), under Eadweard II (Carlyon-Britton Sale, III, 1728), and under Æthelred (B. M. 77, Hildebrand 789 ff.). The first remaining letter of the obverse inscription seems to be an open R, not D; otherwise one might be doubtful about the attribution to Eadgar.

EADWEARD II.

Type i. *Obv.* Bust l., diademed; around, inscription between two circles, the inner plain, the outer pearly.
Rev. Small cross pattée; around, inscription between two circles, as on obverse.

Bedford.

25. *Obv.* +EAD[]RDREXAVL

Rev. +ÆLFSTANM[]EDA Broken.

Cp. B. M. 2.

26. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXAN[]LOX

Rev. +ÆLFSTANM-OBEDA Chipped.

27. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXAVLE

Rev. Similar (same reverse die).

28. Similar; seen by Prof. Newstead; now missing.

29. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXAN

Rev. +BALDDIGM-OBEDA

Cp. Montagu Sale, I, 750; Carlyon-Britton Sale, I, 464; III, 1727.

30. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXAVGLOX

Rev. +BALDDIGM-OBEDA.

[Balddig = Bealding (surname Balding). W. H. S.]

Chester.

31. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXANGLOX

Rev. +IOIEEAM-OLEGI. .

32. *Obv.* as preceding, but ANGL.

Rev. +BOIEEAM-OLEG.

Cp. Hildebrand 9 (BOIEEA).

Guildford?

33. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXANGLOX

Rev. +ÆLFPEARDM-OLVLEFR.

The mint name would appear to be Guildford; but there is no other record of this mint being at work before the time of Æthelred (B. M. + DVNSTANMΩOCYLD, Type iv, ex Evans Coll; others in Hildebrand, p. 73). It is often impossible on coins of this period to distinguish between V and Y. Mr. W. H. Stevenson, consulted on the reading, is inclined to accept the tentative identification of the name with Guildford. "It can hardly be Culford, Suffolk, which occurs as 'Culeford' in *Cod. Dipl.*, iv. 295, eleventh century, as this never seems to have been a place of importance. Guildford is therefore the most probable, although I am doubtful about it. The moneyer has an English name, and one can hardly expect him to have used the French *u* to represent the O.E. *y*, which by his time seems to have lost its rounding, and to have become confused with *i*. There is, I presume, no sign of any dot over the *v*, which might perhaps have been an imitation of the rune for *y* A . The *d* of Gyldeford might be omitted in order to shorten the name to fit into the limited space at the disposal of the moneyer, but it was still pronounced."

LI (Lincoln?).

34. *Obv.* +EADPEARE+ΛICLΘ Inscription begins
below l. shoulder of bust.

Rev. +ADELAVERHII-OLI

Cp. Montagu Sale I, 758 = Murdoch 127, and Carlyon-Britton Sale, II, 1050; the form of the last word on the obverse has puzzled those who have previously described the coin. The terminal abbreviation (for ORVM) looks like Θ, and the L before it has a very tall detached serif, suggesting l. As the form Θ for *e* is impossible at the time, we must not read, as I had at first supposed, Anglie. Mr. W. H. Stevenson writes: "The name Adelaver is difficult to explain. At first sight it suggests a Norse name with the preservation of the O.N. nom. sing. ending *r*. There are traces in the Scandinavian districts of this nom. *r*, but it was usually dropped through English influence. For instance, a *Bergulver* is mentioned in the Yorkshire portion of Domesday, representing O.N. *Bergulfr* (Old Swedish *Bierghulver*). But the use of *v* for medial *f* is not known in O.E. MSS. so early as the time of

Edgar (but cf. No. 39), and *adel* is an unlikely part of an O.N. personal name. It must therefore represent an O.E. *Ædel* or a continental cognate in *Adel*. Probably the coiner bore a double name, as suggested by the point after *Adel* in *B.M. Cat.*, ii. 175, No. 58; 176, No. 60. Or it may be that the names of two moneyers are given. The second name may perhaps be O.N. **Áveirr* (Old Swedish *Áver*, Runic *Áuair*). The initial was originally followed by *n* (original form **AnugeiRaR* = OHG. *Anagër*), but many Scandinavian names appear in O.E. without the nasal. One would expect the name to be represented in O.E. by *Anuar* or *Anwer* or, with loss of nasal, *Áuar* or *Áwer*, as the O.N. *v* is recorded in O.E. as *u* not *e*. Adelaver can scarcely be the French *Adlevertus*, *circa* 800, which is explained as a perversion of Adelbert by Longnon, *Polypytyque de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés, rédigé au temps de l'abbé Irminon*, i. 292."

Lincoln.

35. *Obv.* +EADPARDRE+ANGL

Rev. +GRINN-OLINDOL••

Grim seems to be different from Grind (No. 37). Both names occur at Lincoln under Æthelred also.

36. *Obv.* Same die as preceding.

Rev. +GR[]-OLINDOL• Chipped.

Different die from preceding.

37. *Obv.* [+EA]DVVARDRE+AN[GL]O

Rev. [+GR]INDN-OLINDOL[L] Chipped.

Cp. B. M., No. 14 (same dies); Hildebrand, No. 12. [*Grind*, distinct from *Grimm*, is obviously an O.N. nickname from *grind*, "a gate", although I cannot find an O.N. example. W. H. S.]

38. *Obv.* +EADPEARE+ANGLOX

Rev. +LEVICH-OLINDOL••

Cp. B. M. 16-18 (*Levg*, *Levig*).

39. *Obv.* Same die as preceding.

Rev. +LEVIGHO-LINDOL

[*Levig* = O.E. *Leofing*. W. H. S.]

40. *Obv.* +EADVVARDRE+IIIG
Rev. +LEVGIN-OLINDCOL•N•
 [Levgi = Levi(n)g. W. H. S.]

London.

41. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXANGLOX
Rev. +ÆLFPEARDM-OLVN•

Cp. Murdoch Sale, I, lot 128. Ælfweard also struck at London in the next reign (Hildebrand, p. 99, Nos. 2093-2100).

42. *Obv.* +[]RE+AHG
Rev. []ALDN-OLVN[] Broken.

Probably Æthelwald (Hildebrand, 15, 16); but the identification of the king is not certain.

43. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXANGL
Rev. +PIGFERÐM-OLVN•

Wigferth is recorded under this reign by Ruding.

Lymne.

44. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXANGLOX
Rev. +ÆÐSTANM-OLIMEN
 Cp. Hildebrand 11.

45. *Obv.* Similar to preceding.
Rev. +ÆÐE•S•TANH-OL[] Broken.
 Cp. B. M. 11.

Norwich.

46. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXANG•
Rev. +MANNICH-ONORÐPIC

This moneyer is recorded by Ruding for this reign, and is doubtless the Maninc, Maning, Mannine or Manning of Norwich in Æthelred's reign.

47. *Obv.* Similar to preceding (same die).
Rev. +MANNICM-ONORÐ•

*Oxford.*48. *Obv.* +EADPE·A·RDRE+AN*Rev.* +PVLFREDMONO⁻+HA

Wulfred struck at Oxford in the preceding reign (No. 7 and Hildebrand 34, 35).

*Rochester.*49. *Obv.* +E[]EARDREXAN*Rev.* +EA[]M⁻OHROFE· Broken.

Prof. Newstead suggests Cn[apa]; but the second letter appears to be complete as A, and the first, as Mr. Brooke points out, may as well be E as C. Eadnoð and Eadwerd are found at Rochester under Æthelred II, Type i (Hildebrand, 3273, 3276 ff.).

50. *Obv.* +EADPEAREXANGLØX*Rev.* +SIDEMANM⁻OHROF·

Sideman appears at Rochester in the next reign (Hildebrand 3297) as in the preceding (above, Nos. 8-10).

*Southampton.*51. *Obv.* +EADPEARDEXANHCØX*Rev.* +CYLMN⁻OHAMTVN

Culm is recorded by Ruding under this reign. The second letter is nearer Y than V. Under Eadgar (B. M. 15) the first letter may perhaps be C; the second is either Y or V. Mr. W. H. Stevenson writes as follows: "Cylm appears to be a shortened form of Cynehelm, Cynelm. A Cylmes-cumb occurs at Harwell, Berks. (Birch, iii. 446, 24; 607, 17, from the Codex Wintoniensis, c. 1150). Cylmes-gemære, co. Worc., in Kemble, iii. 166, 12, appears in an undated copy of the boundaries in Heming's Chartulary, c. 1100, from which both texts are derived, as Cylmæres-gemære, 355, 6, probably an error due to anticipation of gemære. The name Cynemær could hardly appear as Cylmær, and no other known name-stem will explain it. The Cenelmes-stan of a contemporary charter of 949 (Birch, iii. 30, 4) at Welford, Berks., is the Cylman-stan of iii. 147, 20, from the Abingdon Chartulary, c. 1200.

Cenelmes-tun, Birch, iii. 305, 2, 18, from the Cod. Wint. is now Kilmeston, Hants. The contraction in compound local names is not the same as in the personal name naturally, but Cynehelm, Cynelm, Cynlm might conceivably yield Cylm and Cenhelm similarly Celm. The more probable shortening would be Cyn(e)l. We have not much evidence of O.E. colloquial shortenings, as the names in the written documents naturally appear in most cases in their full forms. In the *g*-names I can only think of Guth(h)elm, but this would hardly be shortened so early as the tenth century to Guthlm, and the *u* would probably persist."

52. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXANGLON

Rev. +CYTELM-OHAHTVN•

Possibly the Cytel who struck in the next reign at Exeter (Hildebrand 504).

53. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXANGLON

Rev. +LEOFÆLMN-OHAHT

Partly double struck on reverse; the moneyer's name is very obscure. For the name which I have suggested, cp. the Shrewsbury coin of Æthelred II, B. M. 312.

54. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXANGLON

Rev. +LEOFSIGEM-ONAM•

This moneyer appears at Southampton in the next reign (Hildebrand 1252-5).

Stamford.

55. *Obv.* +EAL[]XANGLON

Rev. +Æ[]M-OSTAN• Broken.

Same obverse die as B. M., No. 21 (Ælfwald).

56. *Obv.* +EADPARDREXANGLON

Rev. +ÆLFPALDM-OSTANFO

Cp. B. M. 21.

57. *Obv.* +EADPARDREXANGLON

Rev. +ÆSCMANM-OSTANF

Cp. B. M. 22; Montagu Sale, I, 758.

58. *Obv.* []NGLOXX

Rev. +Æ[]OZTAHO Badly broken.

The treatment of the bust on this much broken coin seems to me to indicate Eadweard II rather than either of the other kings represented in this find. If I am right, the moneyer may be Ælfwald or Æseman.

59. *Obv.* +EADPEARDRE[X]ANGLO

Rev. [+]CNAPAH-OOSTANFO.. Chipped.

60. *Obv.* Another from same die.

Rev. +CNAPEM-OOSTANFO.

61. *Obv.* Another from same die as No. 60.

Rev. [+CNA]PAM+OOSTANFOR:

62. *Obv.* +EADVVARDR[E]+AIILO

Rev. +C[N]APAM-OZTAHFO Annulet beside cross in field. Chipped.

Cnapa worked at Stamford under Eadgar, and signs Cnape on another coin of the present reign (B. M., No. 26). [O.E. *cnapa*, "boy", related in some unexplained way to the rare *cnafa*, the source of "knave". W. H. S.] For the annulet on the reverse, cp. B. M., No. 32 (another Stamford coin). In the next reign, I have noted it at the following mints: Nottingham (Hildebrand 3413-14); Stamford (Nos. 101-3 below, and Hildebrand 3429, 3477, 3563, 3573); Tamworth (No. 104 below); Worcester (Hildebrand 3982); and York (Hildebrand 925, 994).

63. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXANGLOXX

Rev. +PACERHOSTAIIFO

64. Another from same dies. Chipped.

The *B. M. Cat.* (No. 29) reads PACER, but the first letter is P; Ruding also records Wager. Searle (*Onom.*) cites Wacer de Suafham as witness to an Ely document c. 975. [Wacer is correct (surname Waker). It is connected with the second stem of "Odoacer". W. H. S.]

65. *Obv.* +E[]ARDREXANGLON

Rev. +PVL[]RMOSTANF Broken.

Wulgar or Wulfgar (B. M. 32).

Tamworth.

66. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREX[]O[]

Rev. +DEORVL[]OTAMPO Chipped.

Evidently the same name (DEORVGE) as on the Rashleigh specimen (lot 282, now in B. M.); but the coins are from different dies on both sides. It seems probable that Deorulf is intended. [Deoruge is an "un-name". W. H. S.]

67. *Obv.* +E[Λ]DPE[ΛR]DREXANGL

Rev. +MAH[]MOT[Λ]MPORD Chipped.

Probably Mana or Manna (Hildebrand 22).

Wilton.

68. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXANGLON

Rev. +BOIGAMTOPILTVN.

Boiga struck at Wilton under Eadgar (Hildebrand 43) and Æthelred II (Hildebrand, 8991-2, Boia).

69. *Obv.* +EADPEΛ[]NGLON

Rev. +EAD[]PILTV. Broken.

Probably Eadwine (Hildebrand 23).

Winchester.

70. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXANGLON

Rev. +EATSTANMOPINT Broken.

Eatstan at Winchester under Eadgar (Hildebrand 48).

York.

71. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXANGL-

Inscr. begins at middle of left-hand side of circle.

Rev. +BEOLANM-OEFERIC

Cp. Thomsen Catalogue, ii, No. 8655 (BEOL·AN·M[—]OEFERIP). Beolan at York under Æthelred II (Hildebrand 638). [Beolan = Irish Béollán, the name of the earliest Earl of Ross (Skene, *The Highlanders of Scotland*, ed. Macbain, 318, 417). The name was borne by a son of Vilbaldr, an Irishman with an English name, one of the early settlers in Iceland. The moneyer was probably an Irishman or a Gaelic Highlander.—W. H. S.]

72. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXANGLOR

Rev. +ODAN[—]OEFERNC

N for PI. Cp. Carlyon-Britton Sale, III, 1728 (EFERPIC). Oda also struck at York in the next reign (B. M. 77; Hildebrand 789 ff.).

73. *Obv.* +EADPEARDREXAN

Rev. +STY·RM·OEFERPICA

Cp. Walters Sale (1913), 28. The name Styr is well known, apart from coins. But possibly the point before R indicates (as suggested in the Walters Catalogue) that it is an abbreviation of Styrgar, who is recorded as a moneyer in this reign. [The O.N. name is *Styr-kär*, borrowed into O.E. as *Styrcær*. W. H. S.]

74. *Obv.* +EADPEAR[] Inscr. begins above king's forehead.

Rev. +[] MÖEFORPIC Broken.

Uncertain Mints.

75. *Obv.* [] EARDREXANGLOR

Rev. [] EOPINEPN[—]O Leofwine.

76. *Obv.* +EADPARDRE+ANGLOR Bust to r.

Rev. Doubtful.

I have not seen this coin, which is no longer forthcoming.

ÆTHELRED II.

Type i (Hildebrand, Type A). *Obv.*—Bust I., diademed; around, inscription between two circles, inner plain, outer pearly. *Rev.*—Small cross pattée; around, inscription between two circles, as on obverse.

Bedford.

77. *Obv.* +ÆDELREDREXANGLOR Three curved rays project from r. shoulder, and end in pellets.

Rev. +ÆLFSTANM-OBEDA

Cp. Hildebrand 77.

78. *Obv.* Similar to preceding.

Rev. +BÆLDIGMØBYDĀ. .

On the form Byda, see Ancombe (in *B. N. J.*, ix, p. 103), who points out that it is West Saxon, and cites Bydanford from an eleventh-century tract. Mr. Stevenson writes: "The work referred to by Mr. Ancombe is a tract, c. 1020, edited by Liebermann, under the title 'Die Heiligen Englands', Berlin, 1889, an offprint from the *Neues Archiv*, and by Birch, *Liber Vitae of Newminster and Hyde Abbey*, for the Hants Record Society. It is also in Hickes' *Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium*. It is clear from it that *Bydanford* is Bedford, as it places it near the river Ouse. *Bȳdan* is the West Saxon form, earlier **Biedan* (cf. *Biedcan-ford* in Chron. B, C, against *Bedcan-ford* of the older (Alfredian) MS. A, also meaning Bedford, the personal name being there compounded with the hypocoristic suffix (*i*)ca as against the *a* of the usual form). *Bieda* is the early West Saxon form corresponding to the Anglian *Bēda*, later *Beda* (familiar in the case of the Venerable Bede). Both descend from *Baudi* + *a*. It would seem that A has the Anglian form, and that B and C have substituted the West Saxon. So the writer who supplied the later *Bȳda* form must have written in West Saxon, perhaps as the chancery language (as it certainly became a little later). Bedford was eventually Mercian, and the modern form of its name is the Mercian one, with shortening in composition." Ælfstan and Æthestan also use the *y* (Hildebrand, Nos. 80 and 84; the latter has *Bydfo*).

79. Another, same dies.

80. *Obv.* Similar to preceding.

Rev. +BYRNPINEMOBYDĀ

Canterbury.

See below, No. 109.

Chester.

81. *Obv.* +ÆDELREDREXANGLOR Bust as on Bedford coins.

Rev. +ÆLFZTANN-OLECC

Cp. Hildebrand 1489.

82. *Obv.* Similar to preceding.

Rev. +DEORLAFM-OLEGE

This moneyer struck at Chester under Eadgar (B. M., p. 171, No. 23; also Dyurlaf, Hildebrand, p. 11, No. 20).

Derby.

83. *Obv.* +ÆDELREDREXANGLOR

Rev. +GVNARM-ODEORBY•

Cp. Carlyon-Britton Sale, I, lot 469, and Hildebrand 350, 351 (Guner, type ii, var. a)

84. *Obv.* +ÆDELREDR[]LO Bust has three rays issuing from r. shoulder and ending in pellets as on Bedford and Chester coins.

Rev. +[]NARM-ODEORBY Broken. Doubtless Gunar.

85. *Obv.* +ÆDELREDREXANGLOR

(Note the round E.)

Rev. +OSOLFM-ODEORÆB•Y

(The E is corrected in the die from R.)

86-8. Three others, same dies (with same correction on reverse); one broken.

Osolf, see Hildebrand 354-6.

89. *Obv.* Same die as preceding.

Rev. +OSOLFM[—]ODEORΛBY

Lincoln.

90. *Obv.* +ÆDELREDRE+ΛHCL Three pellets in front of bust (remains of rays as on Bedford coins).

Rev. +L·EVILHO[—]LINDOL

91. Another, from same dies, chipped.

The name is evidently intended for LEVIC [W.H.S. agrees]. Cp. Montagu Sale, II, 6; "LEVIGNOLINDOL three pellets before bust."

92. *Obv.* [+]EDELRE[D]RE+ΛII Bust rather rude; three pellets in left field (as on No. 90).

Rev. +GR[]H[—]OLIHDEL• Chipped.

Evidently GRIM; cp. Carlyon-Britton Sale, II, 1053, and Montagu Sale, I, 767, with similar obverse.

93. *Obv.* +ÆDELRE+ΛIICLOD Similar to preceding; pellets in field.

Rev. +GRIHDI[—]OLIHDELO

For Grind see B. M. 151, Hildebrand 1789-90.

94. *Obv.* +EDEIPEDRC•+ΛHE Bust very barbarous.

Rev. +GRIHDI[—]OLINDC•

95. *Obv.* +ÆDELRED[]IICI

Rev. []IHDI[—]OLIND[] Broken.

96. *Obv.* +EDELREDRE[—]ΛHC•• Bust and pellets as on No. 93.

Rev. +RODBERTH[—]OLI[^]

Cp. B. M. 153.

97, 98. Similar to preceding (same dies). Broken.

99. Similar (same obv. die).

Rev. [+R]ODBERTH[—]OLI[] Chipped.

*Stanford.*100. *Obv.* +ÆDELREDREXANGLORX*Rev.* +BOCII-OSTANF

Cp. Hildebrand 3455-6 (BOIA, type B 1).

101. *Obv.* +ÆDELREDREXANGL[L]O*Rev.* +LEOVINC-OSTANFOR Annulet beside the cross.

This particular form of the name Lífing, Leofing, Living, &c. is found on another coin of the same type (*Bergens Museum Aarbog*, 1896, No. 15, p. 11: *Horrfind*). For the annulet on the reverse, see above on No. 62.

102. *Obv.* +ÆDELREDREXANGLO (*Inscr.* begins in front of bust, below.)*Rev.* +PVLFGARM-OSTAM Annulet beside the cross.Cp. Hildebrand 3563 (same peculiarities on *obv.* and *rev.*).103. *Obv.* +ÆDELREDREXANGLORX (*Inscr.* as usual.)*Rev.* +PVLFGARM-OSTAN Annulet beside the cross.*Tamworth.*104. *Obv.* []DELREDREXA[] Head barbarous; three rays ending in pellets projecting from r. shoulder, as on Bedford coins; *inscr.* begins in front of bust, below.*Rev.* +NA[]-OTAMPOR! Annulet beside the cross. Broken.

The name appears to begin with Na or Ma. If the latter, then the moneyer may be Mana or Manna. See above, under Eadweard II. For the annulet, see note on No. 62.

Tamworth?

105. *Obv.* +ÆDEL R D[]XANGL Two pellets in front of bust, near inner circle (remains of rays as on Bedford coins).

Rev. +LEFDIN:MOT[]E Broken.

Apparently the mint name was **TAMPE**. Leofwine struck another type at Tamworth (Hildebrand 3672, Type C, **CRVX**). A Leofwine was moneyer at Stamford, using a variety of Type i (+**LEO·EPINE MΛOSTAN**; a pellet opposite first and third angles of the cross: B. M., ex Evans-Morgan); but the mint-name on our coin distinctly begins with **T**, and not **Σ**. A man of this name also struck at Taunton (Hildebrand 3676, Type D), but that mint-name does not seem possible here.

Totnes.

106. *Obv.* +ÆDEL R[]ANGLOR

Rev. +MANNAM[]OTTAN Broken.

This moneyer is known at Totnes with other types (B. M. 333, 334; Hildebrand 3855 ff.).

York

107. *Obv.* +ÆDELREDREXANGLOR Three rays ending in pellets projecting from r. shoulder, as on Bedford coins.

Rev. +CIEOLOG~HOEFE

[*Cielogh* = Irish *Ceallach*, borrowed into O.N. as *Kiallakr*. W. H. S.]

108. *Obv.* +ÆDELREDRE+ANG

Rev. +SPRTIHGM~OEFR

Swerting does not seem to be known as a York moneyer in this reign. [There is an O.N. mythological name *Sprettingr*, but *Swerting* is no doubt correct. O.N. *Seertingr*. W. H. S.]

Uncertain (Canterbury?).

109. *Obv.* []ELREDRE+[]

Rev. +[]III~OLAZT Broken.

Possibly a mere blunder for **CANT**.

Type i, var. *c bis* (not in B. M. or Hildebrand).

Obv. Bust l., diademed; in front, sceptre, cross pommée; around, inscription between two circles, the inner plain, outer pearly.

Rev. Small cross pattée with pellet off end of each arm; around, inscription as on obverse.

Canterbury.

110. *Obv.* +ÆDELREDREXANGLORX

Rev. +BOCAM-OCÆNT-

Boga is presumably the same as Boia (Type i, var. a, in B. M. 16, 17, and later types in Hildebrand 128 ff.).

Type ii (Hildebrand B I, var. a).

Obv. Bust l., diademed; around, inscription between two circles, inner plain, outer pearly.

Rev. Hand of Providence issuing from Heaven, between $\bar{\Lambda}$ and $\bar{\Omega}$; around, inscription as on obverse.

Chester.

111. *Obv.* +ÆDELREDREXANGL-

Rev. +LEOMMANM-OEECE

112. Similar to preceding (same dies).

ECE for LECE. Cp. Hildebrand 1556 (LEOMMAN), also 1533 (Leofmon) with Type ii, var. a.

Shrewsbury.

113. *Obv.* +ÆDELREDRE+ANGL

Rev. +ÆVICM-OSEROBB

Cp. Hildebrand 3356-7 (ÆFIC).

Type ii, var. a (Hildebrand B I).

Obv. Bust r., diademed; around, inscription between two circles, inner plain, outer pearly.

Rev. Hand of Providence issuing from Heaven, between $\bar{\Lambda}$ and $\bar{\Omega}$; around, inscription as on obverse.

Chester.

114. *Obv.* +ÆÐELREDREXANEO
Rev. +ÆLFSTANM⁻OLÆGE
 Cp. Hildebrand 1491.

115. Similar to preceding (same dies).

London.

116. *Obv.* +ÆDELREDREXANGELO
Rev. +ALFPOLDM⁻OLVND.

117. *Obv.* Similar (ends ANGELOX).

Rev. Similar to preceding, but from different die.

Alfwold: see Hildebrand 2216-8.

118. *Obv.* +ÆDELREDREXANGELOX

Rev. +GODAM⁻OLVND.

Goda: see Hildebrand 2528 with this type, and cp. GOD, B. M. 194 and Hildebrand 2513 with this type.

Winchester.

119. *Obv.* [+]ÆÐELRED[]ANGELOX

Rev. +Æ[]IÇEM⁻OPINT. Broken.

Probably ÆELFSIGE (Hildebrand 4047-8), who used this type.

York.

120. *Obv.* +ÆÐELREDREXANGELOX

Rev. +FARMANM⁻OEOFERPI

Farman: cp. Hildebrand 707-8.

Uncertain.

121. *Obv.* []ÐE[]EXANGL[]

Rev. +E[]FINGMO[]L Broken.

All that seems certain is that the moneyer's name ends in -ing; the preceding letter seems to be T or F.

Of the first letter of his name only the horizontal base-stroke is preserved. **SPYRTINGMONORÐPIC** (Hildebrand 3196) or **SPYRTINGMOEFERPIC** (cp. above, No. 108) seems possible; the last letter of the mint-name may be **L** or **Ľ**.

UNCERTAIN KING.

(Type of Eadweard II, Type i.)

Stamford.

122. *Obv.* Illegible. *Rev.* [] **ARMOSTANF**.
Probably Wulfgar.

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Mani (Leicester), 5.	Wine (Canterbury), 2, 3.
Maninc (Norwich), 46.	Wintaige (Winchester), 21.
Manna (Tamworth, 67, 104 ; (Totnes), 106.	Wul(f)gar (Stamford), 65, 102 f.
	Wulfred (Oxford), 7, 48.

NOTE.—All the coins above described are now in the British Museum, with the exception of Nos. 2, 10, 12, 14–16, 19, 22, 25, 26, 28, 30, 32, 36, 37, 39, 55, 56, 58, 61, 64, 65, 74, 76, 79, 86–8, 91, 95, 97–9, 103, 112, 117, 119, 121, 122.—G. F. H.

VIII.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE AMPTHILL FIND (EARLY HENRY II).

THIS hoard has already twice engaged the attention of the Society. In the second volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1839-40, there is a description of the finding of the coins at Bickering's Park, near Ampthill. There were 146 pennies, all of Henry II's first issue, and they were found in a hollow stone by a labourer. The then owner, Colonel C. R. Fox, sent the coins for exhibition only to the Society. The paper containing this information is headed with a woodcut of the stone and a number of the coins falling from it, and is of a more or less fanciful nature. The second paper concerning the Ampthill coins is to be found in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, vol. ii, 1862. This article was written by the Ven. Archdeacon Assheton Pownall. The coins were presented to the Society by Lieut.-General Fox on February 20, 1862, and the number then was 142. Of these 142 pennies Archdeacon Pownall describes 48, and only gives reverse readings. The remainder he tells us were in too deplorable a condition for description. The list of 48 readings contains a few inaccuracies, but the absence of obverse readings rendered it useless for further research, and for this reason I asked to be allowed the

privilege of re-examining the coins. When placed in my hands there were only 133 coins. Of this number 38 have yielded no result as to mint-names, and very little as to moneyers' names, but on the remaining 95 I think there is sufficient to justify a mint attribution, though occasionally this has to be determined entirely by the unusual name of the moneyer. A common name like Richard or William gives no clue to a missing mint-name, but a name like Aschetil or Warnir or Warin would be an unlikely source of error if we were to attribute coins bearing these names to Wilton, Northampton, and Shrewsbury respectively. It is by such means as this that I have endeavoured to make some of these 95 coins tell their story.

I do not think the coins are in quite such a wretched state of preservation as to justify the use of the word deplorable. They are in the condition usually exhibited in a find of this period. The Lark Hill (Worcester) hoard, described in vol. xix, Fourth Series, of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, was not better preserved than this one, and the Tealby type coins in the Rome find were much worse. The mints figuring in the hoard are sixteen, viz. Bristol, Canterbury, Carlisle, Exeter, Gloucester, Hereford, Ipswich, Lincoln, London, Northampton, Norwich, Bury St. Edmunds, Thetford, Wilton, Winchester, and York. These represent about half the number of mints known to have been at work on this coinage.

Coins from all of these mints are of frequent occurrence. The commonest of all is Canterbury, and here the moneyer Richard must have produced an enormous output, much larger than any other moneyer either at Canterbury or elsewhere, if we are to judge by the

coins now known bearing this name. The majority of the mints not represented in this hoard are considered scarce, and coins from some of them are very rare indeed. It may be due to this cause that coins from most of these establishments are not here represented, but rarity will not account for the absence of a Newcastle coin, nor can I suggest a reason for the absence of the less rare varieties, except in the small number found. A comparison of Archdeacon Pownall's reverse readings with those here given will reveal the absence in my list of any mention of a Lynn coin. The piece which he thought might be attributed to this mint I have read as ROGIER ON CAN. I have never seen a coin bearing the mint-name LEN, but it is quite easy to understand how such an error can be made with a badly struck square C and an equally obscure K.

The archdeacon devotes a few words to the coin here given tentatively under Ipswich, reading NICOLE ON PIP. He read the coin VIP. The first letter of the mint-name is a very clear Saxon *wea*, and it looks on the coin very much like a V. The coins bearing the mint-name PIP were all struck by two moneyers, viz. NICOLE and ROBERT. Coins of these two moneyers, however, commonly read GIP. Now there are only two mints where both a Nicole and a Robert were working. They are Gloucester and Ipswich. Gloucester could not possibly have been meant by PIP. Perhaps it requires some imagination to suggest that the letters represent Ipswich. The first letter may represent a form of G or of Y. The second P is an accurate representation of our English P. It is unfortunate that on these Tealby type coins this identical

letter serves the two purposes of a *p* and a *wen*. The name **PIERES** and the name **PILLEM** both bear the same initial letter, which in these two cases represent two different sounds.¹ There is also a mint at present unidentified reading **PAIN**. It has been suggested that Wainfleet is intended, but as we do not here know the value of the initial letter, and as the moneyer Waltier is a common one, such suggestion is perhaps even more of a guess than the above attribution to Ipswich.

A glance at the accompanying list will show that nearly all the different obverse legends are in evidence. The busts on the coins all agree with known descriptions. When we come to consider the moneyers' names there is but little fresh information to be added to our stock of knowledge. Canterbury, however, gives a new moneyer **RAVL**, and four of his coins are included in the list. **SAWVL** of Gloucester gives another spelling for **SAWLE**, who was known to have been striking at the same place. There are among the coins three with inner circles, one by **WARNIER** of Northampton, and another from the same mint, moneyer's name illegible, also a coin by **TVRSTAN** of Thetford. These inner circle coins are not nearly so rare as was at one time supposed. They emanate chiefly from the Northampton mint, and four out of nine moneyers of that mint are known to have struck coins both with and without this circle. It

¹ Mr. Andrew writes to me: "In support of your attribution of **PIP**, **VIP**, and **WIV** (?) to Ipswich I may say that in charters of the same or the following century the forms **YIPISWICHE**, **YEPISWICHE**, and **IPYSWECH** were used. But capital **Y** was then often **Ÿ** in manuscripts, and the 'Roman' letter **W**. On the other hand the **P** may be a form of **G**."

is to my mind not a feature of any importance. I had hoped that the important mint of Bury St. Edmunds might have added to our knowledge of this coinage. There are seven coins from the mint, but they are all known varieties by the three moneyers William, Henry, and Raulf. Epigraphical considerations yield nothing. There were no coins having a round G. The preponderating type in point of numbers is Class IV, those reading **HENRI REX, RE, or REX A**, which number 37, as against Class I reading **HENRI REX ANGL and ANG**, 15. The large majority of the illegibles are of Class IV type, so that we may feel satisfied that although none of the very latest issues are contained in the hoard, yet the burial of it was not long before 1180, when the new short-cross coinage superseded those of the Tealby type. Nothing definite can be stated as to the time of burial. The date would appear to be later than that of Awbridge, where the first type was in preponderance, and also later than Lark Hill, Worcester, where Class I more nearly equalled Class IV in point of numbers. It is not so late as the Rome find, which also contained short-cross coins.

The stone receptacle would appear to be a naturally hollowed iron-stone. I am given to understand that there is no evidence of hand-work about it. It now only remains for me to express my thanks to the Society for having been allowed to make a further examination of this interesting hoard.

Bristol.

HENRI · R · · · ·
· · · · · REX

ROGIER ON · · · RIS
+ · · · · · BR

Canterbury.

..... REX:	+R.....AN:ON:CAN
..... EX	+GOLD[hAVOC.ON]CA
..... REX	+RA[VLOH].CA.
..... REX	+RAVL:ON CANT
..... REX	+RA[VL.ON:CA]NT
HENRI REX	+RA[VL]:ON:CA..
ANGL type	+RICARD.....N
REX type	[+RICAR]D:ON:CA
HENRI REX AN	+RIC[ARD]:ON:CAN
..... REX R	[+RI]CARD.....CA
HENRI RE...	CARD:ON:....
Illegible	+RIC.....CAN
..... REX	+R.....ON:CA
Illegible	+RIC.....AN
	+RIC.....N:
HENRI REX	+R[IC]ARD:M:ON:C
HENRI REX	+ROGIER:ON:CAN.
..... REX	[+RO]GIER:ON:CA...
HENRI REX	...GIER:ON:C...
..... REX AN	+WIVLF[ON C]ANT
..... REX	+WIV.....AN
HENRI:R:AG	+.....ON:CAN
..... REX	.....TNT
..... REX	.....N:[C]AN
..... REX	ON:CAN:
..... REX	CANT

Carlisle.

HENRI REX	+WILHELM:ON:CAR
REX type	[+WIL]LE[L]M:...R
" "	WILHELM.....

Exeter.

ANGL type	:ON:EXES
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Gloucester?

Illegible	[+S]AWVL.....
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Hereford?

Illegible	[+RO]G[I]ERI:ON:HE..
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Ipswich.

HENRI:R:Α:	+NICOLE:ON:GI..
HENRI....	+NICOLE[:ON:G]IPE
REX typeCOLE:ON:G...
..... REX	+ROBERD:ON:GIPE
..... REX Α:	+ROBERD:ON:GIPE
..... RE	[+ROBERT:ON:GIP..
HENRI REX	+TVRSTAN:ON:GIP

Ipswich?

HENR....	[+NI]COLE:ON PIP
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Lincoln.

..... REX	+RΑV...N:L...
..... R ΑN	...N:ON:LIN

London.

HENRI REX ANGL	(+GEF?)EFREI....
HENRI:R:ΑG	+GIE[FREI]:ON:L....
HENRI:R:Α[G]	+GO[DEFREI:ON:LV]N
..... REX	+GO.....LVN
..... REX	+GODE.....
..... REX	+GODEFREI.....
Illegible	+LEF[WINE:ON:LVN]
HENRI:R:Α..	+PIERE[S:ON:L]VN:
Illegible	[+PIER]ES:ON:LVND
REX type	....S:ON:LVN
..... ΑG	...IERES:ON:....
Illegible	....ES:ON:[L]V....
HENRI REX ANG	+SWETMAN:ON:LVN
Illegible	+SVETEOLΑ.....
..... RE	....ON:LVN
HENRI REX ANGL	....LVND
..... REX	....ON...ND

Northampton.

HENRI R	+ENGELRAM:ON:N
ANG inner circle	+WARNIER:ON:N...Α

Northampton?

Illegible, inner circle NOR

Norwich.

..... REX ANG	+ GILBERT
Illegible	+ GILE
HENRI REX ANGL	+ PICOT:ON:NOREP
HENRI REX ANGL	+ PICOT:ON:N . . .
HENR . . .	[+PIC]OT:ON:NO . .
HENRI REX ANGL	+ REIMER:ON
ANGL type	. . . . R:ON:NO . . .
HENRI:R:π	. . . .:ON:NOR

Oxford.

..... REX	. . . . ON:OX . .
REX type	+ ADM[ON:OXO]N

Bury St. Edmunds.

HENRI REX ANGL	+ WILLE[LM:ON:]S:ED
HENRI:R AN	+ WIL ON:S:EDOR
AN	+ HE[NRI]ON:S:EDMIV
HENRI REX	[+R]AVL:ON:S:E . .
HENRI RE	+ RA S:EDM
HENRI REX	+ ON:S:EDM
HENRI REX π	. . . . ON:S:EDMV

Thetford.

HENRI RE	+ SIWATE:ON:TIFE
ANGL	+ TVRSTAN:ON:TE . .
HENRI:RE: inner circle	+ TVRSTAN:ON:TE
..... REX	+ TVRST TE
Illegible	+ WILELM . ON:T . . .

Wilton.

ANGL type	+ π[SCHEIL]ON WIL
ANGL	+ π]SchE

Winchester.

hENRI:R:π	+hEREBERT
hENRI:R...	[+PILL]EOl:ON:PIN
ANGL type WI

York.

Illegible	+GODWIN[E.ON:EVER]W
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Mints doubtful, mostly illegible.

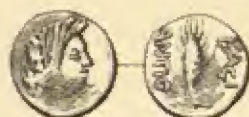
Illegible	NICOLE ON
	. . . IER
ANGL type	WILLELM
Illegible	+DRIV
. REX	DE V
hENRI:R	+RICπ
. RE	π . . . N ON . π Canterbury?
hENRI RE (late)	. . . N:ON:
Illegible	. . . . . NE
	. . . OLF
hENRI REX πNG	[+π]MDR
hENRI	+N

29 coins quite illegible.

L. A. LAWRENCE.

MISCELLANEA.

ANTIOCHUS, KING OF THE SLAVES.



Obv. Veiled head of Demeter r. wearing corn-wreath.

Rev. Ear of corn; to r. and l. in two lines downwards
BACI ANTIO (the last letter doubtful).

Æ. 0.55; wt. 53.0 grs.; dies ↑↑.

The coin illustrated and described above was acquired by the British Museum in 1868 with upwards of 180 others, all of Sicily or Lipara, from Signor Salinas, the late keeper of the Palermo Museum. It was originally attributed by Dr. Head (who seems to have missed the **BACI** on the reverse) to Morgantina, presumably on the strength of the second line of the inscription. Later Professor Percy Gardner, while drawing up the Museum Catalogue of the Seleucid Kings of Syria, read the whole inscription and placed it among the uncertain of that series. The style, however, the epigraphy with its round sigma, and the fabric, which lacks the characteristic bevelled edge of Syria, combine to put the coin in a class apart. In view of the fact that all the other coins purchased at the same time come from Sicily or Lipara, it seems, humanly speaking, certain that this coin also was found in the Western Mediterranean, and a small copper coin is not likely to travel far from the country of its origin to a place with which that country stood in no specially close relation. Again, the types, while most uncommon in the Seleucid series,¹ are essentially Sicilian in character. Was there

¹ Head of Demeter on Æ of Demetrius II, Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. 121. (He regards the obverse type on the Æ coins attributed to Antiochus IV or V in B.M.C. *Seleucid Kings*, p. 43,

a King Antiochus ruling in Sicily to whom this coin may be attributed? I would suggest that it was struck by Eunus, the leader of the slaves in the first Sicilian slave war, 136² (?)–132 a.c. The slaves at Enna were the first to rise, and they chose Eunus in virtue of his prophetic and thaumaturgical qualifications—he had the trick of blowing fire through his mouth—for their leader. He assumed the insignia of royalty and, like so many of his fellow slaves a Syrian by birth, he adopted the style of ‘Antiochus, King of the Syrians’. The revolt spread rapidly over the island, and it was not until 132 that the consul Rupilius finally crushed it by the capture of Enna. The death of Eunus shortly after, on his way in captivity to Rome, saved him from a worse fate.

The statement of Diodorus³ that the revolting slaves did not burn the cities, destroy the crops, or molest the field labourers, and the length of time during which, in spite of Eunus’s inferior powers as leader, the slave ‘kingdom’ was able to maintain itself against the power of Rome, show that it was not a merely destructive or anarchical institution, and it need not surprise us to find that it should possess a coinage. Enna, the first place to be occupied by the slaves and their last stronghold, seems to have formed the capital of the kingdom; it is therefore *a priori* probable that the mint was situated there, and the peculiar appropriateness of the types makes this almost certain.⁴

E. S. G. R.

Nos. 1–4, as the head of a queen, not of Demeter.) Ear of corn on the rare silver obols of Demetrius II, Antiochus VIII, and Seleucus VI, *ibid.*, pp. 120, clx, and clxv.

² The date is not quite certain, but it must have been after 137. See Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Eunus.

³ Reliq. libr., xxxiv and xxxv, II. 48 (Didot).

⁴ All the coin-types of Enna are connected with Demeter and her circle, and the latest class (B.M.C. Sic., p. 59, No. 9) with the inscription **MVNHENNAE** shows the same veiled head with the wreath of corn as on our coin.

Title & contents are not secured

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IX.

THE "RESTORED" COINS OF TITUS, DOMITIAN, AND NERVA.

STUDENTS of Roman coins can hardly fail to be familiar with the series described in my title—*sestertii*, *dupondii*, and *asses*, more or less exactly copying types of dead emperors, princes, and princesses, and furnished with the name of the reigning emperor and the word *Restituit* (in full or in a more or less abbreviated form). The great Eckhel dealt with the subject in his usual masterly manner; he disposed of one or two absurd interpretations—which, being thus happily slain, need trouble us no further—and stated lucidly what was to be known in his time. Unfortunately, between his day and ours, research has little gain to show; students have been content to rest on Eckhel's authority and have not exerted themselves greatly to fill in the details he left uncertain.¹ That vigorous and independent scholar, the late Commander Mowat, it is true, brought out an ingenious theory, intended to explain fully all the facts known to us.² He postulated a great collection

¹ This statement is unfortunately true both of Gnecchi's article in *Riv. It. di Num.*, 1897, pp. 123 ff., and of the article in Stevenson's *Dictionary of Roman Coins*.

² See *Congrès International de Numismatique*, Paris, 1900, pp. 210 ff.

of dies at the mint of Rome: when one of these, through one cause or another, was lost, the die was "restored"; our "restored" coins are simply occasional strikes from these restored dies. As this theory has already been submitted to a destructive criticism by the late Francesco Gneecchi,² I need not linger over it now. The main objections are: (1) the collection of dies postulated by Mowat is anything but a certainty; (2) the "restored" coin does not always exactly reproduce its prototype; (3) on Mowat's theory all known coins of each type should be from the same die—and this is not the case; (4) it is impossible, on this theory, to explain why the "restored" coins fall within such narrow chronological limits: they should, of course, occur quite sporadically. Add to this that Mowat's criticisms of the orthodox theory prove weak on examination, and we shall, I think, be obliged definitely to reject his suggestion.

In this paper I start from what may be called the orthodox standpoint—that is to say, I regard the "restored" coins as having been deliberately issued by the reigning emperor to revive in the popular mind the memory of earlier princes. What I hope to add is an explanation of various difficulties connected with the series. I want, first of all, to explain the place of the "restored" coins in the Roman imperial series and to suggest the reasons that led Titus to inaugurate the issue; secondly, to discover why the "*aes*" coinage, rather than gold and silver, was chosen for the experiment; and, thirdly, to bring out the reasons that prompted the selection of types to be

² See *Riv. It. di Num.*, 1901, pp. 248 ff.

restored. I leave out of account for the time the later restorations, almost all of Trajan, in silver and gold; they can, I think, be considered apart from the series here in question, and I should like to defer writing on these until I have more to add to our knowledge than I have to-day.

The "restored" coins can only be fully understood if considered in relation to earlier commemorative issues. The commemoration of the illustrious dead on coins—already familiar to the later Republic—was taken over as a heritage by the Empire, and, as was natural, became closely connected with the cult of the deified emperor.

Divus Julius, Divus Augustus, Divus Claudius, in succession, appear on the coins of their successors; Divus Augustus evidently appealed strongly to the popular imagination, as we find him commemorated, not by Tiberius only, but also by Caligula, Claudius, and later by Galba and Vespasian. Tiberius and Caligula were never "consecrated"—though coins of Caligula exist, which show as reverse a portrait of a deified emperor, unnamed, and closely resembling Tiberius in features, with two stars, l. and r., in field—one, we might suppose, for Augustus, one for Tiberius—and certainly suggest an unfulfilled intention of giving Tiberius divine honours.⁴ Claudius, with all his virtues a rather ridiculous figure, hardly dignified the imperial cult, and after a few years Nero seems to have let his worship fall into neglect, to be revived later by Vespasian. Beside these coins of the deified emperors, we

⁴ Cf. Dio Cassius, lix. 3. 7. Caligula at first demanded for Tiberius the honours paid to Augustus.

find a second class, commemorating princes and princesses of the imperial house—Agrippa under Tiberius; Germanicus and Agrippina I under Caligula; the same two, together with Livia (as Diva Augusta), Nero Drusus, and Antonia, under Claudius. All the metals were used for these commemorative coins. They form an important part of the imperial series under Caligula and Claudius, but fall into the background under Nero, who, after the first few years of his reign, showed little inclination to dwell on the past history of his house: the murderer of mother, adopted brother, and wife had much to forget, and, apart from this, Nero, in his later stages, was inclined to focus all attention on himself. He did, it is true, deify Poppaea and her infant daughter Claudia after death; in the main he was too concerned with himself as a god, with the cult of the emperor living, to trouble very deeply about the commemoration of the dead.⁵ With the extinction of the Julio-Claudian house a new question arose: would the new ruler attach himself to the past dynasty or strike out new paths of his own? Galba had shown a clear desire to stand in the succession of Augustus. Otho appears, on the other hand, to have made the Nero of the later years his model for his short term of power. Vitellius, so far as he had the energy to pursue a policy at all, struck out on independent lines; he only accepted the orthodox title of "Augustus" under pressure, declined throughout the title of "Caesar", and gloried chiefly in his title of

⁵ It would take too long to pursue this subject to a conclusion here. I call attention to the use made by Nero of the aegis and the radiate crown—both attributes of divinity—on his coins.

"Germanicus", drawn from the legions who had raised him to power. Vespasian, the final successful competitor in the contest for power, very definitely adopted a policy of attaching himself to the old dynasty. Probably taking the anniversary of Actium as a starting-point he struck throughout his reign various types, closely imitated from types of Augustus, occasionally of M. Antony and the Republic—associated with his own portrait or that of his sons.⁶ It was a clear indication that Vespasian, founder of a new dynasty, sought solidarity with the founder of the old. This policy Titus adopted from his father and extended. Like Vespasian he sought to associate himself with the past dynasty; like him he revived types of its coins—the difference lay in this, that he did not confine his restorations to such narrow limits of time as Vespasian had done, that he restored, not a reverse only, but a whole coin, and that, finally, in order that the meaning of the restoration might not escape the meanest intelligence, he definitely stated on the coin "the Emperor Titus, son of the deified Vespasian, has restored this coin". Titus extended his father's policy, while at the same time making its purpose clear. It was undoubtedly the lack of any close personal connexion with the dead that led Titus to "restore" their memories in this form, instead of simply striking coins with their name and portrait, as

⁶ Cf. the very instructive article by Laffranchi in *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, 1911, p. 427 f. Among these types are Victory on prow, Neptune with foot on globe, Laurel Branches, Cow, Butting Bull, Team of Oxen, Venus, Victory, Capricorn on gold and silver of Rome, and Eagle and Altar on "Aes" of the Lugdunum mint.

Claudius had done, for example, for his father and mother.

The second question to be answered is, why were these restorations made in "*Aes*"? Why does the imperial title with the formula *Restituit* occur on the senatorial coinage? Mowat found this a serious difficulty and exploited it to the full against the orthodox theory. The difficulty is in a sense a real one, but an answer is available which incidentally extends our knowledge of the whole series. The policy illustrated in the "Restoration" series had been, under Vespasian, mainly the policy of the emperor—most of the restorations are in gold and silver; Titus, on the other hand, associated the Senate with himself in the closest possible way in his action—the two chief powers of the State combined to pay commemorative honours to the illustrious dead, and this co-operation was aptly expressed—and how else could it have found fit expression?—by the striking of "*Aes*" coins with the usual **SC** and the additional "Restoration" legend of the emperor. If any critic presses me to admit that this practice, however innocuous in itself, implied a recognition by the Senate of the emperor's supreme powers over all coinage, I shall not be disposed to question him; undoubtedly the emperor was virtually the supreme authority, and the Senate derived its rights by delegation from him. The senatorial control of the "*Aes*" coinage had some value as a check on imperial caprice; in matters of policy the two mints worked very closely together.

And thirdly, how were the coins to be restored selected? It has been definitely maintained that there is no special principle that we can detect—

that anniversaries of one sort or another prompted "restorations" of this or that prince or princess. This position must, once and for all, be abandoned. The emperor and the Senate, acting in harmony, selected for the honour of commemoration all those princes and princesses of the Julio-Claudian line whom they deemed worthy. The series, in fact, represents an official judgement on their records. Let us look first at the omissions. The Emperors Caligula, Nero, Otho, Vitellius—the reason for omission is in each case obvious. Nero and Drusus Caesar, who appear only on *dupondii* of their brother Caligula, played no large part in the State for good or bad, and their omission need not surprise us. The one real difficulty is the absence of Antonia from the list; her husband and children are included, and she herself was a great Roman lady who left a gracious memory behind her. I can find no reason for a deliberate omission; it is just possible that "restored" coins were struck for her, which have not come down to us. And now let us look at the inclusions. Many of the names will excite no surprise: the only difficulty, so far, has been over Tiberius and Claudius. If our list was in any sense an "Order of Merit", how come they, say the critics, to be included? To the scholar who knows something of the Roman Empire from other sources than Tacitus, the answer, I think, will be plain. Tiberius spent the greater part of a long life in the service of the State, as an exceptionally able statesman and general; in the provinces his reputation stood particularly high; it was only the bitter opposition of the Senate, outraged by the last terrible years of his reign at Rome, that induced his weak successor to allow his memory to be condemned.

It is, surely, clear then from his inclusion in our series, that the solid merit of his work had triumphed over real or imaginary scandals of his later life and that in A.D. 80 his memory was held in honour. With Claudius the case is similar; despite his foibles he was far from unsuccessful as an emperor—whether by his own merit or not is another question—and on his death he received the honour of consecration. Divus Claudius—after all a poor figure beside a Divus Augustus—was, we know, ridiculed and his honours were allowed by Nero to sink into neglect; but the fact that Vespasian restored them and that his name figures in our list proves conclusively that the general verdict on his record was favourable. Bearing all these facts in mind, we can read our Tacitus with a new light and understanding. It has probably struck even the most hard-hearted critic of Tiberius that Tacitus is too merciless, too anxious to slay the slain; we can understand his ferocity when we see it as an attempt, unfortunately only too successful, to damn a second time the memory of a great, if unhappy, man. So too with Claudius; Claudius could not, like Tiberius, be represented as an almost superhuman villain; he must therefore be caricatured out of existence as a mixture of weakness and feeble vice. The reputation which Tiberius and Claudius hold in history to-day is a marvellous tribute to Tacitus's passion and literary genius; that it does not flatter his love of truth hardly matters—for that was a quality which, where emperors were concerned, he neither possessed nor desired to possess.

The series of Titus belongs entirely to the years A. D. 80-81 (Cos VIII); that of Domitian is obviously

connected in the closest way possible with it—is, in fact, only a feebler and imperfect continuation of it—and may be attributed, with certainty, to a short period at the beginning of his reign. The series of Nerva is markedly different: it includes only two persons, Divus Augustus and Agrippina senior, and the “restorations” are now, practically speaking, new coins. Nerva appears to have retained the useful *Restituit* formula, while virtually issuing new types, as Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius had done before him. Nerva makes no attempt at a complete series: that he selects Divus Augustus for commemoration need not surprise us—that emperor undoubtedly held a unique position in men’s hearts. To account for Agrippina is more difficult; I suggest that Nerva as a boy may have enjoyed the special patronage of the great lady.⁷

I have tried to indicate above why it is that Nerva’s coins differ so widely from any possible original. But even the types of Titus and Domitian show more or less serious variations and we must, I think, admit that, while at first a definite prototype was taken, a little room for variation was allowed to the officers of the mint. Note, for example, the numerous variations of the one original reverse of Divus Augustus with Eagle and S. C. In several coins, it will be observed, a special “restoration” reverse—legend round edge, S. C. in centre—replaces an original type. It is hardly possible to say with certainty why one particular

⁷ Nerva’s exact age being uncertain, we cannot tell if this is chronologically possible: but a family relationship, of one kind or another, is, I think, very probable.

type was taken, another left. But in the case of Divus Augustus, for example, more types were available than were wanted for restoration; the selection—granted that a selection had to be made—strikes us as a reasonable one.

I append descriptions of the “restored” coins of Titus, Domitian, and Nerva so far as I have been able to discover them; I have not a great deal to add to the list given by Gneecchi in *Riv. It. di Num.*, 1897, but I venture to give my own, because (1) both Gneecchi and Cohen are responsible for many slips in descriptions, and (2) I wish to experiment as to the best methods for classifying complicated issues like that of Titus with *obv.* **DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER** and *rev.* Eagle and S. C.

My references are to Cohen, 2nd edition, to Gneecchi's article in *Rivista*, quoted above, and to coins in the British Museum and other collections.

The following abbreviations are used :

B. = British Museum.	N. = S. Nathan Collection.
P. = Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.	R. = Rollin et Feuardent Stock.
G. = Gneecchi Collection.	V. = Vienna.
H. = H. P. Hall Collection.	We. = P. H. Webb Collection.
W. = F. A. Walters Collection.	

TITUS.

DIVVS AVGVSTVS.

Sestertius.

Obv.

Rev.

A. a. Augustus, radiate, togate, seated l. on low seat, holding laurel-branch in r. hand and long straight sceptre in l., his feet resting on a stool. In front of him a lighted altar. Border of dots.
DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER (l. up, r. down).

IMP T CAES DIVI VESP F AVG P M TR P PP COS VIII round edge (r. down, l. up).

S C, large, in field.
Above, **REST**. Border of dots.

b. " "

But without **REST** in field.

B. " " But no altar.

As *A. a.*

C. a. " " But no altar.

As *A. a.*

Augustus holds patera, not branch, in r. hand.

b. " " (as *C. a.*)

T CAES DIVI VESPI F AVG PM TR P COS VII round edge.

S C, large, in field; above it, **REST**.

A. a. B., P., H., W. Cohen 548, Gneecchi 3.

Cohen, quoting a Paris specimen, gives **REST** in *rev.* legend on edge and not in field: a cast sent to me from Paris shows this to be a simple misdescription. The illustration in Cohen above 548 actually refers to 549—which has no **REST** in *rev.* legend. Gneecchi 3 omits **PP** in *rev.* legend in error.

A. b. P., Cohen 549, Gneecchi 4 (again omitting **PP** in error). This *rev.* really belongs to *obv.* **DIVVS AVGVSTVS VESP** and type similar to above (Cohen, Vespasian 207).

B. G. Gneecchi 1 (**TR P P COS VIII** in *rev.* legend in error for **TR P PP COS VIII**). Not in Cohen.

C. a. B. Not in Cohen or Gneecchi.

b. R. Cohen 560, Gneecchi 12 (omits **COS** in *rev.* legend in error). The *rev.* legend is quite abnormal in form and suggests some suspicion of the coin. Note omission of **IMP** before **T** and strange form **VESPI**.

Type *A* is a faithful reproduction of the coin struck by Tiberius (Cohen, Augustus 309), except that the legend of Titus replaces the original reverse legend **CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVST PM TR POT XXIII**.

A variety of Tiberius's sestertius (Cohen, Augustus 310) shows Augustus with patera, instead of branch, in r. hand (cf. *C. a*). But there is no prototype for the omission of the altar.

Dupondii.

Obv.

Rev.

A. a. Head of Augustus, radiate, l. Border of dots.

DIVVS AVGVSTVS
PATER (l. up, r. down).

Victory wearing tunic and peplus, advancing l., carrying in r. hand shield inscribed **SP**
QR in two lines and resting l. hand against side. Border of dots.

S C, l. and r., high up, in field.

IMP T VESP AVG REST
round edge (l. up, r. down).

b. " " " " " "
But star above head.

B. " " " (as *A. a*).
But head radiate r.

A. a. B., P. Cohen 557, Gneecchi 6.

b. B. Not in Cohen or Gneecchi.

B. P., H. Cohen 556, Gneecchi 5.

The prototype of this coin (Cohen, Augustus 242) has obverse as *A. a.*, reverse only different in having no legend beyond **S C**, **SPQR** on shield in one line instead of two, and a type larger in proportion to the flan.

Asses.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
<i>A. a.</i> Head of Augustus, radiate l. Border of dots. DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER (l. up, r. down).	Lighted altar, of square shape, with four-panelled door on the front. Border of dots. PROVIDENT , l. to r., in exergue. S C. l. and r., in field. IMP T VESP AVG REST round edge (l. up, r. down).
<i>b.</i> " "	" " But IMP T CAES AVG REST .
<i>c.</i> " "	" " But IMP T CAES AVG RESTITVIT .
<i>d.</i> " "	" " But IMP T CAES VESP AVG RESTITVIT .
<i>e.</i> " "	" " But IMP T AVG REST .
<i>f.</i> " " But star above head.	" " But IMP T VESP AVG REST

- A. a.* B., H., N. Cohen 559, Gneecchi 17.
b. H. Cohen 558, not in Gneecchi.
c. B. Not in Cohen, Gneecchi 18.
d. G. Not in Cohen or Gneecchi.
e. ?. Cohen 489 (1st edition, omitted in 2nd); Gneecchi 16.
f. Cast in B.M. Not in Cohen or Gneecchi (present place of original not known).

The prototype of this coin (Cohen, Augustus 228) has obverse as here, reverse only different in having no legend round edge, **NT** in **PROVIDENT** not in ligature, and a type larger in proportion to the flan.

The As, with the general reverse type Eagle, S. C., appears in an unusual number of varieties.

We find three varieties of obverse :

- A. Head of Augustus, radiate, l. Border of dots.
DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER (l. up, r. down).
 B. Head of Augustus, radiate, l., &c. But star above head.
 C. Head of Augustus, radiate, r., &c.

Four varieties of reverse type :

- a. Eagle with open wings, standing on globe, facing, head turned to r. ; **S. C.**, l. and r., in field.
 b. Eagle, with open wings, standing on globe facing, head turned to l., &c.
 c. Eagle, with open wings, standing on thunderbolt, facing, head turned to l., &c.
 d. Eagle, with open wings, standing on cippus, facing, head turned to l., &c.

And four varieties of legend round edge of reverse :

1. **IMP T VESP AVG REST**
2. **IMP T VESP AVG RESTITV**
3. **IMP T VESP AVG RESTITVIT**
4. **IMP T CAES AVG RESTITVIT**

The following combinations of these types and legends are known :

- A. a. 1. B., W. Cohen 551, Gneecchi 8.
 A. a. 4. B., N. Not in Cohen or Gneecchi.
 A. b. 1. ? Not in Cohen, Gneecchi 11.¹
 A. b. 2. B. Not in Cohen or Gneecchi.
 A. b. 3. G. Not in Cohen, Gneecchi 12.²
 A. c. 1. B., N. Cohen 554, Gneecchi 14.
 A. d. 4. B. Not in Cohen, or Gneecchi 15.
 B. b. 1. B. Not in Cohen or Gneecchi.
 C. a. 1. H. Cohen 550, Gneecchi 7.
 C. a. 3. ? Cohen 553.¹
 C. b. 1. ? Not in Cohen, Gneecchi 10.¹
 C. c. 1. B. Cohen 555, Gneecchi 13.

¹ I give these coins as described, but can record no certain example of them.

² Misdescribed by Cohen 552; Gneecchi 9 seems to be taken from Cohen 552.

It will be observed that *A* is easily the most popular: of the reverse types, *a* and *b* are about equally common, *c* and *d* rare; of the reverse legends, *l* is easily the first in use.

The prototype (Cohen, Augustus 247) shows obv. *A*, rev. *a* (no legend round edge).

The other varieties are all new.

General Notes.

The originals of all these restored types of Divus Augustus were struck in the reign of Tiberius, the sestertius in the year A.D. 22-23, the dupondius and the two varieties of As perhaps rather later. The obverse title, **DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER**, is particularly appropriate on coins struck by the adopted son of Augustus. Other coins, with **DIVVS AVGVSTVS** only on obverse, may be assigned with strong probability to the reigns of Caligula and Claudius. (Cp. Sydenham in *Num. Chron.*, 1917, pp. 258 ff.)

AGRIPPA.

	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>As.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
	Head of Agrippa, wearing rostral crown, l. Border of dots.		Neptune, standing l., holding dolphin in r. hand and long straight trident in l. Border of dots.
	M AGRIPPA L F COS. III (l. up, r. down).		IMP T VESP AVG REST round edge (l. up, r. down). S. C. , l. and r., in field.

B. Cohen 6, Gneocchi 1.

An exact reproduction of the original (Cohen, Agrippa 3), save for the addition of the legend round the edge of the reverse. The exact date of this original has not yet been fixed with certainty; but it may be assigned with some conviction to the period A.D. 33-38—late Tiberius or early Caligula. (Cp. Sydenham, *Num. Chron.*, 1917, pp. 269 ff.)

TIBERIUS.

*Sestertius.**Obv.*

Tiberius, togate, laureate, seated l. on curule chair, holding patera in r. hand and long straight sceptre in l., his feet resting on stool. Border of dots.

**CIVITATIBVS ASIAE
RESTITVT.** (l. up, r. down).

Rev.

**IMP T CAES DIVI VESP
F AVG P M TR P PP
COS VIII** round edge (r. down, l. up).

S. C., large, l. and r., in field. Above it, **REST.** Border of dots.

B., P. Cohen 71, Gneecchi 1 (but both erroneously give **RESTITVTIS** for **RESTITVT** in obverse legend, and **REST** as on edge, instead of in field, on reverse).

An exact reproduction of the original of Tiberius (Cohen 3), except that the legend of Titus replaces that of Tiberius—**TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVST P M TR POT
XXIII**—of the original.

Ax.

1.

Obv.

A. a. Head of Tiberius, bare, l. Border of dots.

**TI CAESAR DIVI
AVG F AVGVST
IMP VIII.** (l. up, r. down).

Rev.

**IMP T CAES DIVI VESP
F AVG REST** round edge (r. down, l. up).

S. C., large, l. and r., in field.

b.

..

..

**IMP T CAES DIVI VESP
F AVG. PM** round edge.
**TR P PP COS VIII RE-
STITVIT** in an inner circle (r. down, l. up).

S. C., large, l. and r., in field.

c.

..

..

.. .. (as b), but
DIVI VESP F AVGVST
in outer circle.

B. Head of Tiberius r.
Legend as A.

**IMP T CAES DIVI VESP
F AVG RESTITVIT**
round edge (r. down, l. up).
S. C., large, l. and r., in field.

- A. a.* B. Cohen 73, Gneecchi 3.
b. B., N. Cohen 75, Gneecchi 5.
c. ? . Not in Cohen, Gneecchi 4.
B. ? . Cohen 74, Gneecchi 2.

The prototype (Cohen 24) has *obv.* as *A*, and *rev.* with legend of Tiberius round edge.

2.

Obv.

Head of Tiberius, bare, l.
 Border of dots.
TI CAESAR DIVI AVG
F AVGVST IMP VIII
 (l. up, r. down).

Rev.

Winged caduceus upright
 between.
 S. C., l. and r., in field.
 Border of dots.
IMP T CAES DIVI VESP
F AVG REST (r. down,
 l. up, round edge).

P., W. Cohen 72, Gneecchi 6.

The prototypes (Cohen 21-23) only differ in having the legend of Tiberius in place of that of Titus on the reverse.

DRUSUS.

As.

Obv.

A. Head of Drusus, bare, l.
DRVSVS CAESAR
TI AVG F DIVI
AVG N (l. up, r. down).

B. " "

Rev.

IMP T CAES DIVI VESP
F AVG REST round edge
 (r. down, l. up).
 S. C., large, in centre.
IMP T CAES DIVI VESP
F AVG P M round edge.
TR P PP COS VIII RE-
STITV in inner circle (r.
 down, l. up).
 S. C., l. and r., in centre.

A. B., W. Cohen 6, Gneecchi 1.

B. B., H. Cohen 7, Gneecchi 2.

The prototype (Cohen 2) differs only in having the legend of Drusus in place of that of Titus on the reverse.

LIVIA.

Dupondius.

1.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
A. a. Bust of Livia, draped, diademed r. Border of dots. IVSTITIA , l. to r., below head.	IMP T CAES DIVI VESP F AVG REST round edge (r. down, l. up). Border of dots. S. C. , large, in centre.
b. " "	" "
B. a. " "	But RESTITVIT . IMP T CAES DIVI VESP F AVG P M round edge. TR P PP COS VIII RE- STITV in inner circle (r. down, l. up). S. C. , large, in centre.
b. " "	" " (as B. a.). But RESTITVIT in inner circle.

A. a. B., H. Cohen 9, Gneecchi 1 (omits **AVG** in error).

b. W. Not in Cohen or Gneecchi.

B. a. H. Cohen 10, Gneecchi 2.

b. B. Not in Cohen or Gneecchi.

The prototype (Cohen 4) differs only in having reverse legend
of Tiberius in place of that of Titus.

2.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
A. Bust of Livia, draped, veiled and diademed, r. Border of dots. PIETAS , l. to r., below bust.	IMP T CAES DIVI VESP F AVG RESTIT round edge (r. down, l. up). S. C. , large, in centre.
B. " "	" " (as A).
C. " "	But REST . IMP T CAES DIVI VESP F AVG PM round edge. TR P PP COS VIII RE- STITVIT in inner circle (r. down, l. up). S. C. , large, in centre.

- A. B. Cohen 11, Gneecchi 3.
 B. G. Not in Cohen, Gneecchi 4.
 C. G. Not in Cohen, Gneecchi 5.

The prototype (Cohen 1) only differs in having legend of Drusus in place of that of Titus on the reverse. I have followed the traditional attribution of both types to Livia, though I cannot regard it as certain; were it indeed the case, as has, I think, already been suggested, that the "Iustitia" type really represents Antonia, we should have at once to hand the explanation of her apparent strange omission from this series.

NERO DRUSUS.

*Sestertius.**Obv.*

Head of Nero Drusus, bare, l.
 Border of dots.

NERO CLAVDIVS DRV.
 SVS GERMANICVS IMP
 (l. up, r. down.)

Rev.

IMP T CAES DIVI VESP
 F AVG PM TR P PP
 COS VIII round edge (r.
 down, l. up).

S. C., large, in centre. Above
 it REST. Border of dots.

B., H. Cohen 10 (gives CAES T for T CAES in rev. legend in error), Gneecchi 1. Both give REST at end of the legend round edge—presumably in error. Cp. note on sestertius of Augustus above.

The well-known sestertius of Nero Drusus (Cohen 8) differs widely from this; the obverse is the same, but the reverse shows Nero Drusus seated l., holding branch, amid a pile of arms, with legend of Claudius.

GERMANICUS.

*As.**Obv.*

A. a. Head of Germanicus,
 bare, r. Border of dots.
 GERMANICVS CAE-
 SAR TI AVG F DIVI
 AVG N (l. up, r. down).

Rev.

IMP T CAES DIVI VESP
 F AVG REST round edge
 (r. down, l. up).
 S. C., large, in centre.

<i>Obv.</i>			<i>Rev.</i>
<i>A. b.</i>	Head of Germanicus, bare, r. Border of dots.		IMP T CAES DIVI VESP F AVG P M round edge. TR P PP COS VIII RE- STITV in inner circle (r. down, l. up).
	GERMANICVS CAE- SAR TI AVGF DIVI AVGN (l. up, r. down).		S. C. , large, in centre.
<i>B. a.</i>	" "		As <i>A. a.</i>
	But head l.		
<i>b.</i>	" "		As <i>A. b.</i>
<i>c.</i>	" "		As <i>A. b.</i> , but RESTITVIT in inner circle.
<i>A. a.</i>	<i>P.</i> Cohen 12, Gneecchi 1 (VESP P for VESP F — a misprint).		
<i>b.</i>	?. Cohen 13, Gneecchi 2.		
<i>B. a.</i>	<i>H.</i> Not in Cohen or Gneecchi.		
<i>b.</i>	<i>B.</i> Not in Cohen or Gneecchi.		
<i>c.</i>	?. Cohen 14, Gneecchi 3.		

For *A. b.* Cohen quotes a B. M. specimen as his authority, but our coin has head l. This variety, then, must be considered doubtful.

The prototypes of this coin are (a) with *obv.* head bare r. and legend as *A. a.*, *rev.* legend of Claudius (Cohen 9); (b) with *obv.* head bare l. and legend **GERMANICVS CAESAR TI AVGVST F DIVI AVG N** and *rev.* legend of Caligula (Cohen 1).

AGRIPPINA I.

Sestertius.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Bust of Agrippina, draped, r., hair knotted at back in a chignon. Border of dots.	IMP T CAES DIVI VESP F AVG P M TR P PP COS VIII REST round edge (r. down, l. up).
AGRIPPINA M F GER- MANICI CAESARIS (l. up, r. down).	S. C. large, in centre.

B. Cohen 4, Gneecchi 1.

The prototype (Cohen 3) differs only in having the reverse legend of Claudius in place of that of Titus.

CLAUDIUS.

Sestertius.

Obv.

Rev.

A. a. Head of Claudius, laureate, l. Border of dots.

TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG PM TR

P IMP P P (l. up, r. down).

Spes, wearing tunic and pep-
lus, standing l., holding
flower in r. hand and raising
robe with l.

IMP T VESP AVG REST
round edge (l. up, r. down).

S C., l. and r., in field.

b. " "

" "

But IMP T VESPASIAN
AVG REST

B. a. " "

" " (as A. a).

But head r.

b. " " (as

" "

B. a).

But IMP T VESP AVG
RESTITVIT

A. a. B. Cohen 104, Gneecchi 2.

b. V. Not in Cohen or Gneecchi.

B. a. B., W. Cohen 103, Gneecchi 1.

b. Bachofen von Echt (Cat. 810). Not in Cohen or Gneecchi.

The prototype (Cohen 85) has *obv.* and *rev.* as B., but with *rev.*
legend SPES AVGVSTA in place of legend of Titus.

Dupondius.

Obv.

Rev.

Head of Claudius, bare, r.
Border of dots.

TI CLAVDIVS CAES
AVG PM TR P IMP PP

(l. up, r. down).

Ceres, veiled, wearing tunic
and pepus, seated l. on
throne, holding two ears of
corn in r. hand and long
torch, resting on her knees,
in l. Border of dots.

IMP T VESP AVG REST
round edge (l. up, r. down).

S. C., l. and r., in exergue.

P., W. Cohen 102, Gneecchi 3 (on *rev.* gives IMP T CAES AVG
REST for IMP T VESP, &c.—simply a wrong transcription
from Cohen).

The prototype (Cohen 1) has *obr.* head bare l., legend as here, *rev.* type as here but legend **CERES AVGVSTA** in place of legend of Titus.

This "restored" reverse of Claudius occurs also with obverses of Titus and Domitian:

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
(1) Head of Titus, laureate, r. Border of dots. IMP T CAES VESP AVG PM TR P COS VIII (l. up, r. down).	Ceres seated l., &c. IMP T VESP AVG REST. S C., as above.
(2) Head of Domitian, laureate, r. Border of dots. CAES DIVI VESP F DO- MITIANVS COS VII (l. up, r. down).	" "
(1) P. Not in Cohen or Gneecchi.	
(2) B. Not in Cohen or Gneecchi.	

As.

1.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
A. Head of Claudius, bare, r. Border of dots. TICL CAESAR AVG PM TR P IMP PP (l. up, r. down).	Constantia helmeted, stand- ing l., holding straight spear in l. hand and raising r. hand to mouth. IMP TITVS VESP. REST. S C.
B. " "	" "
But TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG PM TR P IMP	IMP T VESP AVG REST. S C.

A. P. Cohen 107, Gneecchi 4.

B. G. Not in Cohen, Gneecchi 5.

A is a very suspicious coin: **CL** for **CLAVDIVS** on *obv.*, **TITVS** for **T** on *rev.*, and omission of **AVG** are all disquieting features.

The prototype (Cohen 14) has *obv.* legend as *B*, head bare l., and *rev.* legend **CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI** in place of that of Titus.

2.

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
<i>A. a.</i> Head of Claudius, bare, r. Border of dots. TI CLAVDIVS CAE- SAR AVG PM TR P IMP P. P. (l. up, r. down).	Minerva, helmeted, draped, advancing r., brandishing javelin in r. hand and carry- ing round shield on l. Bor- der of dots. IMP T VESP AVG REST round edge (l. up, r. down). S. C., l. and r., in field.
<i>b.</i> " " " " But no P. P. in legend.	" "
<i>B.</i> As <i>A. a.</i> But head l.	" "
<i>A. a.</i> B., W. Cohen 105 ("Pallas combattant à gauche" should be of course "à droite"), Gneecchi 6.	
<i>b.</i> Found at Rome (<i>Biv. It. di Num.</i> , 1908, 128). Not in Cohen or Gneecchi.	
<i>B.</i> P., We. Cohen 106, Gneecchi 7.	

This "restored" *rev.* occurs also with *obv.* of Domitian :

<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>
Head of Domitian, laureate, r. Border of dots. CAES DIVI VESP F DO- MITIAN COS VIII.	Minerva standing r., &c., as above. IMP T VESP AVG REST S. C., as above.

B. Not in Cohen or Gneecchi.

The prototype (Cohen 84) has *obv.* as *B*, *rev.* type as *B*, but without any legend beyond **S. C.**

GALBA.

*Sestertius.**Obv.**Rev.*

Head of Galba, laureate, r.
Border of dots.

IMP SER SVLP CALBA
CAES AVG TR P.

IMP. T. CAES DIVI VESP
F AVG PM TR P PP
COS VIII round edge (r.
down, l. up).

S C., large, in centre. Above
it, REST.

P. Cohen 350, Gneecchi 1. (Both give REST in legend round edge—a cast from Paris shows them to be wrong.)

The obverse is closely copied from originals of Galba; the reverse is a special restoration type, without a prototype.

*Dupondius.**Obv.**Rev.*

A. Head of Galba, laureate,
r. Border of dots.

SER CALBA IMP
CAES AVG TR P

IMP T CAES DIVI VESP
F AVG REST round edge
(r. down, l. up).

S. C., large, in centre.

B. " "

IMP T CAES DIVI VESP
F AVG P M round edge.
TR P PP COS VIII RE-
STITVIT in inner circle
(r. down, l. up).

S. C., large, in centre.

A. P. Cohen 351, Gneecchi 2.

B. G. Not in Cohen, Gneecchi 3. (I assume the legend to be divided as usual.)

As in the case of the sestertius, no prototype exists for this reverse.

As.

1.

*Obv.**Rev.*

Head of Galba, laureate, r.
Border of dots.

SER CALBA IMP CAES
AVG TRP (l. up, r. down).

Libertas, draped, standing l.,
holding pileus in r. hand
and sceptre in l. Border of
dots.

IMP T VESP AVG REST
round edge (l. up, r. down).

S. C., l. and r., in field.

W., P. Cohen 352, Gneecchi 4.

2.

Obv.

Head of Galba, laureate, r.
Border of dots.

SER GALBA IMP CAES
AVG TR P (l. up, r. down).

Rev.

Pax, draped, standing l.,
holding cornucopiae in l.
hand and in r. a lighted
torch, firing a heap of arms
lying on the ground l.

IMP T VESP AVG REST
round edge (l. up, r. down).

S. C., l. and r., in field.

P. Cohen 353, Gneecchi 5.

DOMITIAN.

DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

*Dupondius.**Obv.*

Head of Augustus, radiate, l.
Border of dots.

DIVVS AVGVSTVS PA-
TER (l. up, r. down).

Rev.

Victory, wearing tunic and
peplus, advancing l., holding
in r. hand a shield inscribed
SPQR, &c.

IMP D VESP AVG REST
round edge (l. up, r. down).

S. C., l. and r., in field.

P. Cohen 561 ("Asiatic fabric"), Gneecchi, p. 147, note.

Gneecchi justly remarks that the **D** in the reverse has probably been altered from **T**, but, judging from a cast of the Paris coin, I cannot agree with him that the coin is "barbarous". The legend **IMP D VESP AVG REST** is abnormal and we should probably do well, pending further evidence, to regard this as originally a coin of Titus.

Since this note was first written, the B. M. has acquired a coin of these types, which certainly appears to read **D** not **T**.

As.

1.

Obv.

Head of Augustus, radiate, l.
Above head, a star. Border
of dots.

DIVVS AVGVSTVS PA-
TER (l. up, r. down).

Rev.

Lighted altar. Border of dots.
IMP D AVG REST round
edge (l. up, r. down).

S. C., l. and r., in field.

PROVIDENT, l. to r., in ex-
ergue,

B. Cohen 563, Gneecchi 2.

The B. M. specimen hardly shows any trace of a star, but this is certainly due to wear.

2.

Obv.

Head of Augustus, radiate, l.
Above, a star. Border of dots.

DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER (l. up, r. down).

Rev.

Eagle, with wings spread, standing facing on globe, head turned r. Border of dots.

**IMP D CAES AVG RESTI-
TVIT** round edge (l. up, r. down).

S. C., high, l. and r.

B., H. Cohen 562, Gneecchi 1.

AGRIPPA.

As.

Obv.

Head of Agrippa, wearing rostral crown, l. Border of dots.

M AGRIPPA L F COS III (l. up, r. down).

Rev.

Neptune, naked except for cloak hanging over l. shoulder and r. arm, standing l., holding dolphin in r. hand and straight trident in l. Border of dots.

IMP D AVG REST round edge (l. up, r. down).

S. C., l. and r., in field.

B., H. Cohen 7, Gneecchi 1.

TIBERIUS.

As.

Obv.

Head of Tiberius, bare, l. Border of dots.

TI CAESAR DIVI AVGVSTI round edge (l. up, r. down).

Rev.

IMP D CAES DIVI VESP F AVGVSTI round edge (r. down, l. up).

S. C., large, in centre. Border of dots.

B. Cohen 76 (described as head laureate l., but figured as head bare), Gneecchi 1 (following Cohen).

DRUSUS.

As.
Obv.
Rev.

Head of Drusus, bare, l. Border of dots.

**DRVSVS CAESAR AVG
F DIVI AVG N** (l. up, r. down).

**IMP D CAES DIVI VESP
F AVG REST** round edge
(r. down, l. up).

S. C., large, in centre.

P. Cohen 8, Gneecchi 1.

GERMANICUS.

As.
Obv.
Rev.

Head of Germanicus, bare, l. Border of dots.

**GERMANICVS CAESAR
TI AVG F DIVI AVG N**
(l. up, r. down).

**IMP D CAES DIVI VESP
F AVG REST** round edge
(r. down, l. up).

S. C., large, in centre.

B., W. Cohen 15, Gneecchi 1.

For notes on the relations of these coins to their prototypes see corresponding coins of Titus.

CLAUDIUS.

Sestertius.
Obv.
Rev.

Head of Claudius, laureate, l. Border of dots.

**TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR
AVG PM TRP IMP P P**
(l. up, r. down).

Spes, draped, advancing l., holding flower in r. hand and raising her skirt with l.
IMP D CAES AVG REST
round edge (l. up, r. down).

S. C., l. and r., in field.

P. Cohen 108, Gneecchi 1.

As.

1.

*Obv.**Rev.*

A. a. Head of Claudius, bare,
1. Border of dots.

TI CLAVDIVS CAE-
SAR AVG PM TR
P IMP P P.

Minerva, helmeted, draped,
advancing r., brandishing a
javelin in r. hand and hold-
ing a round shield in l.
Border of dots.

IMP D AVG REST round
edge (l. up, r. down).

S. C., l. and r., in field.

b. " "

" "

But IMP DOMIT AVG
REST.

B. " "

" " (as A. a).

But head r.

A. a. B. Not in Cohen, Gneecchi 3.

b. G. Not in Cohen, Gneecchi 4.

B. ? Not in Cohen, Gneecchi 2.

2.

*Obv.**Rev.*

Head of Claudius, bare, l.

TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR
AVG PM TR P IMP PP.

Spes advancing l. as above.

IMP D CAES AVG REST.

S C.

Cohen 109, not in Gneecchi.

NERVA.

DIVVS AVGVSTVS.

Sestertius.

1.

*Obv.**Rev.*

A. a. Head of Augustus, lau-
reate, r. Border of dots.

DIVVS AVGVSTVS
(l. up, r. down).

IMP NERVA CAESAR
AVGVSTVS REST

round edge (l. up, r. down).

S. C., large, in centre.

b. " "

" "

But DIVVS AVGV-
STVS PATER.

B. " " (as A. a).

But head, laureate, l.

" "

A. a. B. Cohen 370, Gneecchi 2.

b. Coll. Billoin, Paris. Not in Cohen or Gneecchi. (*Ann. de la Soc. fr. de Num.*, 1884, p. 45.)

B. P. Cohen 369, Gneecchi 3.

There is no prototype of Divus Augustus at all closely resembling this coin: it is virtually a new issue.

2.

Obv.

Rev.

Augustus, togate, radiate, seated l., holding branch in r. hand and long straight sceptre in l.: in front of him, a lighted altar. Border of dots.

DIVVS AVGVSTVS

round edge (l. up, r. down).

S. C., large, in centre.

IMP NERVA CAES AVG

REST. (l. up, r. down).

B. Cohen 571, Gneecchi 4. (Cohen gives **CAESAR AVGVSTVS** in place of **CAES AVG** in *obr.* legend, but his illustration shows us **CAES AVG**. Gneecchi follows Cohen.)

Op. for obverse Cohen, Augustus 309. The reverse is entirely new, and the restoration legend is added on the obverse.

Dupondius.

Obv.

Rev.

A. Head of Augustus, radiate, r. Border of dots.

Rudder placed upright on a globe.

DIVVS AVGVSTVS

(l. up, r. down).

IMP NERVA CAES AVG

REST round edge (l. up, r. down).

S. C., l. and r., in exergue.

B.

But head l.

A. B. Cohen 568, Gneecchi 5.

B. B. Not in Cohen or Gneecchi.

The reverse type is borrowed from the *As* of Tiberius (cp. Cohen 12ff.), but it is never found, except here, with an obverse of Divus Augustus.

As.

1.

*Obv.**Rev.*

- A. Head of Augustus, bare,
r. Border of dots.
DIVVS AVGVSTVS
(l. up, r. down).

Lighted altar with six-pan-
elled door on middle of
its front.

IMP NERVA CAES AVG
REST round edge (l. up, r.
down).

S. C., l. and r., in exergue.

- B. But **"DIVVS AVGV-**
STVS PATER.

" "

- A. B. Cohen 566, Gneecchi 6.
B. B. Not in Cohen or Gneecchi.

A free imitation of the **PROVIDENT** reverse of Divus
Augustus. (Cohen, Augustus 228.)

2.

*Obv.**Rev.*

- A. Head of Augustus, bare,
r. Border of dots.
DIVVS AVGV-
STVS (l. up, r.
down).

Eagle, with wings spread,
standing facing on globe,
head turned r. Border of dots.

IMP NERVA CAES AVG
REST round edge (l. up, r.
down).

S. C. in ex.

- B. " "

" "

But eagle stands on thunder-
bolt.

- A. B. Not in Cohen, Gneecchi 9.
B. H. Cohen 565, Gneecchi 8.

A not very close copy of Cohen, Augustus 247: on *obv.* head
is bare r. instead of radiate l. and **PATER** is dropped from title:
on *rev.* the "restoration" legend is added.

3.

Obv.

Head of Augustus, bare, r.
Border of dots.

DIVVS AVGVSTVS (l.
up, r. down).

Rev.

Winged thunderbolt upright.
Border of dots.

IMP NERVA CAES AVG
REST round edge (l. up,
r. down).

S. C., l. and r., in exergue.

B. H. Cohen 567, Gneecchi 7.

Cp. here Cohen, Augustus 249, of which our own is a rough copy.

AGRIPPINA I.

*Sestertius.**Obv.*

Bust of Agrippina, draped r.
AGRIPPINA M F GER-
MANICI CAESARIS.

Rev.

IMP NERVA CAES AVG
PM TR P COS III P P
round edge.

S. C. in centre. Above **REST.**

Venice (Biblioteca di San Marco). Cohen 5, Gneecchi 1. (*Per. di Num. et Sfrag.*, 1868, p. 50.)

Until confirmation of the genuineness of this coin is forthcoming, it must be regarded with suspicion: it is the only restoration of Nerva known outside his "Divus Augustus" series and the *rev.* legend is not the usual "restoration" legend of Nerva.

H. MATTINGLY.

X.

THE ALEXANDRIAN MINT, A. D. 308-312.

THE coins described below form part of a find which is said to have comprised originally two bushels of folles, ranging from Domitius Domitianus to Maximinus Daza. They are nearly all of the mint of Alexandria and belong to three rulers—Galerius 43, Maximin 190, Galeria 5. About 25 coins of the same three rulers of the mints of Antioch, Nicomedia, and Cyzicus were also included. At the mint of Nicomedia the letters **CMH**, usually taken to denote a value, occurred on coins of decidedly different weights and modules—a distinct indication that the view that these coins from first to last represented true value is untenable. The coins of the mint of Alexandria were mainly in fine condition, but the silver wash had for the most part given way to a soft green patina. In the whole series of coins examined not a single case of identity of dies was observed. The find is of interest in so far as it enables us to estimate the normal weight of the coins and to ascertain the succession of mint-marks over a limited period; but its evidential value is, of course, seriously impaired by the fact that it is incomplete.

For the period, cf. Maurice, *Numismatique Constantienne*, tom. iii, pp. 235 ff., and chart after p. 282.

Mint-mark

K	A- P
ALE	

GALERIUS.

Obv.—IMP C GAL VAL MAXIMIANVS PF AVG. Head laureate r.

Rev.—GENIO IMPERATORIS. Genius standing l. holding cornucopiae in l. hand and pouring libation from patera in r.

Cohen 48. Size, 23-25 mm.

Officina A.—6 specimens—87, 88, 92.5, 100, 106.5, 120.

“ B.—10 specimens—85, 96, 97, 98, 102.5, 105, 106, 106.5, 113, 123.

“ Γ.—10 specimens—80, 93, 101.5, 102, 105.5, 105.5, 106, 113, 113.5, 118. One shows patera without liquor.

“ Δ.—4 specimens—88, 93, 93, 133.

“ E.—9 specimens—78, 95, 103, 105, 110, 111, 115, 117, 122.

“ Ϝ.—4 specimens—93, 101, 105.5, 118.

MAXIMIN.

Obv.—GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOB CAES. Head laureate r.

Rev.—GENIO CAESARIS. Genius standing l. holding cornucopiae in l. hand and pouring libation from patera in r.

Cohen 40. Size, 24-25 mm.

Officina A.—2 specimens—94, 106.

“ B.—10 specimens—99, 101, 102, 103, 103.5, 103.5, 108.5, 112, 115, 118. One shows patera without liquor.

“ Γ.—7 specimens—76, 82, 90, 98, 102, 121.5, 121.5.

“ Δ.—9 specimens—84, 86.5, 89, 92.5, 95, 95, 109, 113, 115. All show patera without liquor.

“ E.—6 specimens—79, 93, 103, 109, 109, 113.5.

“ Ϝ.—4 specimens—84, 94, 97, 99.

Obv.—IMP C GAL VAL MAXIMINVS PF AVG. Head laureate r.

Rev.—GENIO IMPERATORIS. Genius standing l., &c. (as above).

Cohen 52. Size, 24-26 mm.

Officina A.—8 specimens—79, 93.5, 97, 97.5, 103, 107, 113, 118.

„ B.—9 specimens—90, 103.5, 104, 105.5, 108, 108, 111, 113, 118.

„ F.—5 specimens—100, 102, 105.5, 107, 115.

„ Δ.—9 specimens—93, 94, 94, 96, 100, 101, 104, 107, 108. All but one show patera without liquor.

Obv.—IMP C GAL VAL MAXIMINVS PF AVG. Head laureate r.

Rev.—VIRTVS EXERCITVS. Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy.

Cohen 204.

Officina A.—1 specimen—96.

GALERIA.

Obv.—GAL VALERIA AVG. Bust diademed r.

Rev.—VENERI VICTRICI. Venus standing l. holding apple and raising folds of dress.

Cohen 2. Size, 24-25 mm.

Officina A.—1 specimen—105.5.

„ F.—2 specimens—103.5, 107.

Mint-mark

	A-
P	R
ALE	

MAXIMIN.

Obv.—GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOB CAES. Head laureate r.

Rev.—GENIO CAESARIS. Genius standing l., &c.

Cohen 40. Size, 24 mm.

Officina Δ.—1 specimen—97.

Mint-mark

P	R
A-	
ALE	

GALERIA.

Obv.—GAL VALERIA AVG. Bust diademed r.*Rev.*—VENERI VICTRICI. Venus standing l., &c.

Cohen 2.

Officina A.—1 specimen—103.

Mint-mark

	A-
X	K
ALE	

MAXIMIN.

Obv.—GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOB CAES. Head laureate r.*Rev.*—GENIO CAESARIS. Genius standing l., &c.

Cohen 40. Size, 24-24.5 mm.

Officina A.—1 specimen—100.

,, B.—1 specimen—112.5.

,, E.—1 specimen—87.

Mint-mark

A-	
X	K
ALE	

GALERIA.

Obv.—GAL VALERIA AVG. Bust diademed r.*Rev.*—VENERI VICTRICI. Venus standing l., &c.

Cohen 2.

Officina Δ.—1 specimen—95.

Mint-mark

X	K
A-	
ALE	

MAXIMIN.

Obv.—IMP C GAL VAL MAXIMINVS PF AVG. Head laureate r.

Rev.—GENIO IMPERATORIS. Genius standing l., &c.

Cohen 52. Size, 24-25 mm.

Officina A.—1 specimen—92.

„ Δ.—1 specimen—115.

Mint-mark

V	A-
K	P
ALE	

MAXIMIN.

Obv.—IMP C GAL VAL MAXIMINVS PF AVG. Head laureate r.

Rev.—GENIO IMPERATORIS. Genius standing l., &c.

Cohen 52. Size, 25-26 mm.

Officina A.—9 specimens—93.5, 98, 98, 100, 101, 103.5, 103.5, 108.5, 116.

„ B.—6 specimens—97, 99.5, 101, 101.5, 109, 115.

„ Γ.—9 specimens—76, 89, 95, 96, 103, 103, 107.5, 108, 112.

Obv.—IMP C GALER VAL MAXIMINVS PF AVG. Head laureate r.

Rev.—BONO GENIO PII IMPERATORIS. Genius standing l., &c.

Cohen 2. Size, 24-26 mm.

Officina A.—1 specimen—108.

„ B.—1 specimen—111.

„ Γ.—2 specimens—110, 111.

Mint-mark

*	A-
K	P
ALE	

MAXIMIN.

Obv.—IMP C GAL VAL MAXIMINVS PF AVG. Head laureate r.

Rev.—GENIO IMPERATORIS. Genius standing l., &c.

Cohen 52. Size, 25 mm.

Officina I.—1 specimen—103-5.

Mint-mark

∪	A-
K	P
ALE	

MAXIMIN.

Obv.—IMP C GAL VAL MAXIMINVS PF AVG. Head laureate r.

Rev.—GENIO AVGVSTI. Genius standing l., holding cornucopiae in l. hand and head of Serapis in r.

Cohen 17. Size, 21-23 mm.

Officina A.—1 specimen—82.

Mint-mark

∪	A-
K	X
ALE	

MAXIMIN.

Obv.—IMP C GALER VAL MAXIMINVS PF AVG. Head laureate r.

Rev.—BONO GENIO PII IMPERATORIS. Genius standing l., &c.

Cohen 2. Size, 24-26 mm.

Officina A.—2 specimens—72, 81.

„ B.—3 specimens—97, 110, 114.

„ T.—3 specimens—99, 99, 110.

Mint-mark

X	A-
ALE	

MAXIMIN.

Obv.—IMP C GAL VAL MAXIMINVS PF AVG. Head laureate r.

Rev.—GENIO AVGVSTI. Genius standing l., &c.

Cohen 17. Size, 21-23 mm.

Officina B.—4 specimens—70, 72.5, 73, 85.

" F.—3 specimens—63, 84, 90.5.

Mint-mark

*	
N	A-
☙	☙
ALE	

MAXIMIN.

Obv.—IMP C GAL VAL MAXIMINVS PF AVG. Head laureate r.

Rev.—GENIO AVGVSTI. Genius standing l., &c.

Cohen 17. Size, 20-21 mm.

Officina F.—2 specimens—69, 74.

" Δ.—7 specimens—63, 63, 68, 76, 81, 81, 88.5.

" E.—13 specimens—65, 72, 73, 74, 75.5, 76, 76, 76.5, 78, 82.5, 84, 86.5, 87.

" ε.—7 specimens—66.5, 73, 75, 77, 81, 83.5, 95.

" Z.—4 specimens—63, 78, 78, 90.

" H.—1 specimen—71.5.

Mint-mark

*
N A-
✻
—
ALE

MAXIMIN.

Obv.—As above.*Rev.*—As above.

Size, 20-21 mm.

Officina B.—15 specimens—63, 64, 67.5, 69, 76, 78,
78.5, 80, 81, 82, 82, 83, 86, 87.5, 90.5.

„ I.—20 specimens—54, 60, 60, 62, 65, 67.5, 70,
74, 74, 74, 76, 76.5, 78.5, 79, 81, 81, 87,
87.5, 89, 89.

PERCY H. WEBB.

XI.

ITALIAN JETTONS.

[SEE PLATES XV AND XVI.]

"Lumbardis are cause inoughe to hurte this lande, allethough there were none othere cause."¹

The great majority of the pieces here described are counters of the Lombard bankers who bore so prominent a part in the finances of the French and English governments during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, in this country more particularly after the expulsion of the Jews by Edward I in 1290. They served for casting accounts by the system of manual arithmetic then in vogue.² Some of the jettons in the latter part of the list are not counters of the Lombard business-men, but either those of private persons, or stock-counters made for the general public, and so corresponding to what the French numismatists call *jetons bancaux*.³ The subject at large of the Italian money-lenders of those times of course falls outside the limits of numismatic study, and has been dealt with more or less fully by various writers,⁴ but only

¹ *The Libel of English Policy*: Political Poems and Songs, Rolls Series, ii. 184. References to the tricks and unpopularity of the "Lombards" are numerous long before the date of the *Libel*: e.g. *Piers Plowman*, i. 81, l. 2954.

² Explained in my *Casting-Counter and Counting-Board*, pp. 254-319.

³ Nos. 89-125 are probably *jetons bancaux*.

⁴ C. Piton, *Les Lombards en France*, 1892-3; W. E. Rhodes, *The*

one of them, M. Piton, has paid any attention to their reckoning-pieces.⁵ "Commercial penetration" by the merchants of North Italy had taken place in France as early as the eleventh century, but the jetton, or casting-counter, of numismatic, or quasi-numismatic, form was an invention of a little before 1200.⁶ The term "Lombard" was applied generically to financiers of Lombardy, Tuscany, or indeed to any Italian merchants and bankers; most of them, however, came from the Northern cities. So far as Western Europe

Italian Bankers in England, in Owens College Historical Essays, 1902; R. J. Whitwell, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N. S., xvii; E. A. Bond, in *Archaeologia*, xxviii; E. Russell, *The Societies of the Bardi and the Peruzzi, and their dealings with Edward III.*, in G. Unwin's *Finance and Trade under Edward III.*, 1918. These print, or edit, the original French and English authorities, and are referred to in the catalogue below as "P", "O.C.", "H.S.", "Arch.", and "R." respectively. Rymer's *Foedera* is indicated by *Foed.* A short article on the same subject by C. Johnson appeared in *Transactions of the St. Albans and Herts Architectural and Archaeological Society*, i. 320-34, and there is a monograph by S. L. Peruzzi, *Storia del Commercio e dei Banchieri di Firenze . . . , 1200-1345*, Florence, 1868. Whether the work mentioned in Longman's *Edward III* (i. 16; ii. 307), a "History of the four great bankers of Florence—the Perucchi, Bardi, Scali, and Acciajoli—from MSS. in the Palazzo Riccardi", was ever actually published I have been unable to discover.

⁵ The following Italian writers have touched, but only lightly, upon jettons of various kinds: D. E. Manni, *Delle tessere caratteresche tenute al collo*, Florence, 1760; R. Sellari, *Lettera sopra le marche o sieno tessere mercantili del secolo XIV, XV, e XVI, dal Sig. Dott. Gioxanni Lavi (estratto dalle Novelle Letterarie)*, Florence, 1764, pp. 25, 40, 52, 71; F. Rabut, *Di alcune maglie da Tivernacio in Savoia (Periodico di Numismatica e Sfragistica, vi)*, Florence, 1874, pp. 127-33; A. Lisini, *Alcune osservazioni intorno alle tessere mercantili (ibid., pp. 288-97)*; V. Promis, *Tessere dei Principi di casa Savoia o relativi loro antichi stati*, Turin, 1879.

⁶ *Casting-Counter and Counting-Board*, p. 25. "They [jettons] were used not before the thirteenth, nor later than the fifteenth century" in Italy (Lisini, *loc. cit.*).

is concerned, these financiers apparently confined their foreign activities for the most part to France and England. In our country we come across them first in the reign of Richard I, but it was from about 1255 to 1370 that they were most prominent here, and that is the period to which the bulk of their counters dealt with in the following catalogue belong. Comparatively few Italian jettons are of fifteenth-century, and still fewer of late fifteenth-century date. That is because ocular arithmetic was then falling out of use in Italy, and by the time of the invention of printing was probably almost extinct there. This seems to be proved by the fact that the first treatise on arithmetic issued from the Italian press, published in 1478, contains no account of reckoning with counters, nor does any other,⁷ whereas works on manual calculation are numerous in the rest of Europe till far later. A preliminary step, indeed, towards the abolition of operative arithmetic in Italy was made under a statute of c. 1299, by which the merchants of Florence were forbidden to keep their books *in abbaco*, and were ordered to use figures.⁸ We must not, however, infer from this that their casting with counters was interfered with, but perhaps that the entries in their

⁷ D. E. Smith, *Rara Arithmetica*, 1908, pp. 3-7. How little remembered in modern Italy is the old system of reckoning with counters may be seen from the opinion expressed by Peruzzi that these pieces were vouchers given by the Lombard banking societies to their representatives to show as credentials. By both earlier and later Italian numismatists they have been called *tessere*, "pledges" or "tokens", and this may explain the above misunderstanding. Sellari, Rabut, and Lisini, however, all knew that they served as counters, though they suggest other and less likely uses as well.

⁸ Piton, ii. 56.

ledgers were not to be made by the dot method,⁹ which was employed to set down in ink the results exactly as they appeared on the board after working with the counters. The firm of the Biccherna of Siena were still striking jettons as late as 1376.¹⁰

The investigation of these pieces is fascinating if only for its extreme difficulty. As to their attribution, in most cases one has had to be content with offering material, and, when one dared to do so, suggestions, which the reader is begged not to magnify into guesses. It is nevertheless hoped that these will save time and trouble to some future student of the series who possibly may be helped by the discovery of fuller evidence. The first problem that presents itself is the obscurity of the letters and monograms which form the type of so many of them. We do not know on what principles these initials were based, or whether they were based on any consistent principles. For instance, supposing the letters to be AB, would they represent (1) the Christian name and surname of an individual, or (2) the surname of an individual and his town, or (3) the name of a firm and its town, or (4) the name of a partner and his firm? That is, should we read these letters as, *e.g.*, (1) Alessandro Bartoli, or (2) Arardi of Bologna, or (3) the Alberici of Bologna, or (4) Alessandro of the Bardi? Again, where there are three letters, would the first two stand for the Christian name and surname of the individual and the third for the name of his firm, or of his town?

⁹ *Casting-Counter and Counting-Board*, pp. 317-18; C. T. Martin, *Record Interpreter*, 1910, Pref., xii-xiii; Hubert Hall, *Antiquities of the Exchequer*, pp. 131-2.

¹⁰ Piton, ii, p. 164.

Or would they stand for the surname of the individual, the name of his firm, and that of the town? Judging from such of the bale-marks of the Lombards¹¹ as are intelligible, there was no rule. In only ten of the seventy-seven given by Piton can letters be read, and these yield three initials of place-names, three of surnames, two of Christian names, two of both Christian and surnames, and one of a surname (or possibly a Christian name) with that of the firm represented. When an armorial shield, or a badge taken from one, is associated with an initial, and both coincide with the name of a financier, attribution may sometimes be fairly certain. Initials and devices similar to those that appear on jettons of the Italian financiers are found on Italian counter-seals of the same period.¹² The cross that surmounts so many of the initials and shields was apparently a stock merchant's mark, with which we may contrast the less simple form usually seen in England.

In common with most Italian jettons counters of the Lombard bankers are mute, having in lieu of a legend a border of *globetti*, or bezants as they are termed by the French numismatists. Most of them have a granulated inner circle, but this is not mentioned here unless there is some special reason for doing so. Sizes are given according to Mionnet's scale, with the addition of an intermediate half measurement. "England" means "in England", or "having

¹¹ Reproduced by Piton, ii, pp. 15-26.

¹² See, e.g., Blanchet and Schlumberger, *Collections sigillographiques*, 1914. Pls. xix. 3, 5, 7; xx. 3, 16; xxi. 2, 4, 18, 28; xxii. 7; and they occur much later, of which an example of 1516 is illustrated in Piton, i, p. 73, No. 9, of Jean (*Giovanni*) Frescobaldi.

dealings with the English court" at the date named; similarly with "France".

These are the rarest of all jettons, and the collector may fairly say of such as he has, *Sparsa et pretiosa coegi*.¹³

1. *Obv.*—A heater-pear¹ shield charged with *A bend within a bordure, and above the bend a pellet*, ensigned with a fimbriated cross which is continuous with the bordure, and interrupts a border of 12 bezants. *Rev.*—As the *obv.* Size 6.

Macinelli of Bologna bore *Gules, a bend azure within a bordure sable charged with 8 bezants or*. The last-named small charges might have been crowded out for lack of space.² Guido de Giero Macinelli of Lucca; England, 1370-1.³ [Pl. XV. 1.]

2. *Obv.*—A heater-shield charged with *A chevron* and ensigned with the head of a cross potent which interrupts a border of 14 bezants. *Rev.*—As the *obv.*, but there are only 13 bezants. Size 5. Barnard, p. 108, No. 14; *Collection Richard*, p. 159, lot 1328.

Balducci of Bologna bore *Or, a chevron argent* as principal charge. Francesco Balducci represented the Bardi of Florence in England, 1317.⁴

Cristofori of Bologna bore *Per fess argent and*

¹³ I should add that this is a publication, not of a completely representative series, but of my own collection.

¹ Grazebrook, *Dates of Shields*, 1890, p. 10, No. 6. The authorities for the blazons given are Petra-Sancta, Bombaci, Ginnani, Litta, and Rietstap. Mr. Howel Will's *Florentine Heraldry*, 1900, and, indirectly, Gonzaga and Campanile, have been found useful, though the last two deal mainly with the families of South Italy.

² As, for the same reason, the fleurs-de-lys are omitted from the Malavolti jetton figured by Piton, ii, No. 195.

³ *Arch.*, 326.

⁴ *O. C.*, 154; *Arch.*, 307-10.

gules a saltire counterchanged as principal charge. Andrea, Mino, and Pietro Cristofori, of Siena; England, 1263.⁵

Landi of Bologna bore *Gules, a chevron azure* as principal charge. Landi of Pistoia; England, 1280.⁶ Bernardo Landi of Piacenza; France, 1278.⁷

Lapi of Bologna bore *Azure, a chevron gules* as principal charge. Lapi of Pistoia; England, 1290.⁸ Francesco Lapi represented the Bardi in England temp. Edward III.⁹

Morelli of Bologna bore *Azure, a chevron gules* as principal charge. Piero Morelli represented the Spini of Florence in England, 1309.⁹ [Pl. XV. 2.]

3. *Obv.*—On a heater-shield *A blank field impaling*¹⁰ *a coat of six bars*.¹¹ The shield is ensigned with the head of a cross potent. All within a border of 19 bezants. *Rev.*—As the *obv.* Size $4\frac{1}{2}$. Barnard, p. 107, No. 7. [Pl. XV. 3.]

4. *Obv.*—A heater-shield probably *Per fess, two annulets in chief and one in base*, the shaft of the merchant-mark cross intruding into the heraldry, as on the Lombard jetton figured in Piton, ii, No. 135, and as on the fourteenth-century Italian seal No. 452 and Pl. xx. 19 given in Blanchet and Schlumberger.¹² Reference to the two pre-

⁵ *H. S.*, 215.

⁶ *O. C.*, 168.

⁷ *P.*, i. 45.

⁸ *O. C.*, 165, 168; *Arch.*, 283.

⁹ *R.*, 133.

¹⁰ *O. C.*, 153.

¹¹ It is not, however, possible to say whether this is a case of impalement or of dimidiation, for the latter method lasted much longer on the Continent than in England.

¹² Barry fields and barred coats are so intermingled in early heraldry that it is not safe to narrow their blazons down too precisely. The same applies to the number of bars.

¹³ *Collections sigillographiques*, 1914.

sentments of Medicean heraldry shown in Piton, ii, p. 71, Nos. 4 and 8, will also illustrate this very clearly. Otherwise the blazon is *Tierced per pale and fess with an annulet in each compartment*, which is much less likely. It is possibly *A fess between three annulets*, though the ordinaries are usually broad on these pieces. The head of the cross interrupts a border of 16 bezants. *Rev.*—A heater-shield *Per fess and in chief a label of three points* (or, less probably, *three pales coupé*), ensigned with a cross which interrupts a border of 16 bezants. Size 5. [Pl. XV. 5, 6.]

5. *Obv.*—A heater-shield charged with *A bend nebuly* and ensigned with the head of a cross fourchy which interrupts a border of 18 bezants. *Rev.*—A heater-shield *Per cross with an annulet in each quarter*. The shield is ensigned with a cross which interrupts a border of 18 bezants. Size 5. The *obv.* probably displays the coat of Berardi of Florence: *Azure, a bend nebuly or and gules*, with the argent cotises omitted, which may have been for want of space, unless they were a later addition or a brisure. Piton,¹³ probably following Peruzzi,¹⁴ says that Bardi is a variant form of Berardi: the coat of Bardi, however, is entirely different.
6. *Obv.*—A heater-shield charged with *A bend vairy between two estoiles of six points*. All within a border of 14 bezants. *Rev.*— Ω surmounted by a cross which interrupts a border of 13 bezants. Size 6. The Ω of the reverse will be seen again on No. 51, and variant forms of it on Nos. 34, 35, 59, 65, 72, 85: it is found in the twelfth, thirteenth,

¹³ l. 61.¹⁴ P., 148.

and fourteenth centuries.¹⁵ This initial does not help with the arms on the obverse. Since it appears so often, can it stand for *Maria*, which is very common on early jettons?

Bruni of Florence bore *Azure, a bend vair cotised or between two estoiles of the last*. As in the case of No. 5, the cotises may have been crowded out, or a later addition, or a brisure. Lapo of the Bruni was a member of the Frescobaldi of Florence, and in England in 1315.¹⁶

7. *Obv.*—On a heater-shield *A bend charged with three quaterfoils*. All within a border of 14 quaterfoils. *Rev.*—On a heater-pear shield *A Latin cross impaling a field per pale*. The shield is ensigned with a cross and monogram (?), or possibly a bale-mark, combined which interrupts a border of 11 quaterfoils. Size 6.

As regards the obverse the Cambi-Uberti of Florence bore *Or, on a bend azure three roses argent*, which these arms might represent or be a variant of. Rusticello of the Cambi of Florence; England, 1252-3,¹⁷ and "Ruccus" (Rocco?) Cambi of Florence; England, 1258-9.¹⁸ Giuntini of Florence bore *Azure, on a bend argent three roses gules*. Giovanni Giuntini represented the Peruzzi in England *temp.* Edward III.¹⁹

As regards the reverse the Alberti of Bologna bore *Argent, a Latin cross gules* as principal charge. The Alberti of Florence were a prominent banking firm from 1300 to 1348,²⁰ and succeeded the Bardi and Peruzzi as the financiers of the

¹⁵ See, e.g., Cappelli, p. 187, and *op. P.*, ii, No. 119.

¹⁶ *O. C.*, 151.

¹⁷ *Arch.*, 265-6.

¹⁸ *Arch.*, 265-9.

¹⁹ *R.*, 134.

²⁰ *P.*, i, p. 49.

English government on the failure of the latter houses in 1345.

8. *Obv.*—A heater-shield *Per saltire* ensigned with a cross which interrupts a border of 13 bezants. *Rev.*—B within two circles, the inner plain, the outer granulated. All within a border of 14 bezants, interrupted at the top by a small cross cantoned by four pellets. Size 6. For the arms see the jetton shown in Piton,²¹ also the seal of Boccanigra of Genoa before 1270,²² who bore *Per saltire argent and gules*. Since the obverse of Piton's No. 179 is associated with a reverse bearing the type of an S, and our reverse is found associated as an obverse with a reverse bearing the lion of Siena,²³ it may be that the firm of Boccanigra had a branch in Siena. Piton, however, quotes the opinion of Lisini that his No. 82 is a jetton of Biccherna of Siena, but no reason is given by either for this attribution. On the S of Siena, see No. 63.

The house of Boccanigra had various dealings with France between 1254 and 1361.²⁴ For entries in the accounts (1315-76) of Biccherna of Siena of expenditure on jettons, see Piton, ii, p. 64, referred to in my introduction above. [Pl. XV. 7, 8.]

9. *Obv.*—A heater-shield charged with what is apparently meant for *Two bars, and on a chief a cinquefoil between two Vs*, ensigned with the head of a double-parted cross which interrupts a border of 18 bezants. *Rev.*—B *couché*²⁵ surmounted by

²¹ ii, Nos. 178-9, obverse.

²² P., i, p. 87.

²³ P., i, pp. 86-8, and see ii, pp. 9, 24.

²⁴ Cp. Cappelli, p. 26, line 1.

²⁵ P., ii, No. 82.

the head of a cross pomelle. In the field, round the letter, are three pellets. A border of 22 bezants. Size 5½. Piton, ii, No. 177, where, however, the drawing is inaccurate, possibly having been made from a defective specimen. A similar reverse will appear again on Nos. 67-70 below.²⁶

The arms on the obverse perhaps suggest a differenced coat of one of the following: Bonsolegni of Florence, who bore *Or, two bars gules, on a chief azure three estoiles of the first*, and Luchi of Bologna, who bore *Argent, two bars azure, on a chief gules an estoile of five points or*. In either case the B would help. I have not, so far, found the former name among those of Lombard financiers, unless it be the same as Boninsegni. Gherardo Boninsegni represented the Bardi in England *temp.* Edward III.²⁷ That would account for the B twice over. Luchi de Lombardo de Lucca in 1359 brought over 2,000 moutons to King John of France, then a prisoner in England,²⁸ and a Luca of Lucca had been a very prominent figure in English financial business from 1272 to 1279, when he died.²⁹ Was he of the same family? [Pl. XV, 4.]

10. *Obv.*—If heraldic, a round shield charged with *A cross cantoned by four roundels* and ensigned with a cross. Both shield and cross interrupt a border of 10 bezants. *Rev.*—A heater-shield charged with *A crocea*. The angles of the shield

²⁶ Wrongly described as a *mierrau* of Béthune by Dancoisne; *Numismatique Béthunoise*, 1859, p. 79, and Pl. vii. 6.

²⁷ *R.*, 182. In the contemporary records Italian names are often curiously distorted.

²⁸ *P.*, i, p. 36.

²⁹ *O. C.*, 140-1, 158, 167; *H. S.*, 192, 200; *Arch.*, 241, 273-7.

interrupt a border of 14 bezants. Size 6. Piton, ii, No. 139, who is of opinion that the crown indicates a court appointment. [PL XV. 9.]

11. *Obv.*—As that of No. 10, but on a smaller scale. There are 16 bezants in the border. *Rev.*—As the obverse, but without the cross, and on a larger scale. There are 21 bezants in the border. Size 4½. Barnard, p. 107, No. 9.
12. *Obv.*—P surmounted by a cross. The foot of the letter and the cross interrupt a border of 13 bezants. *Rev.*—Similar to the obverse of No. 10. Size 6. Barnard, p. 106, No. 3. For the obverse see also Piton, ii, Nos. 113–14, and De la Tour, No. 707, with an obverse of the arms of the Strozzi of Florence. For the reverse see Piton, ii, No. 139. On the barred P consult No. 71. [PL XV. 10.]
13. *Obv.*—A heater-shield charged with *A scaling-ladder*. On each side of the shield are three cinquefoils, and above it is a floral decoration. *Rev.*—A form of cross flory with a fleur-de-lys in each canton. The ends of the cross interrupt a border of small crosses pattée. Size 6. For the obverse see Piton, ii, No. 87, reverse; also Rouyer and Hucher, p. 175. The reverse occurs again on No. 86 below.

Jetton of the Scali of Verona, whose canting arms were *Gules, a scaling-ladder of (usually) four rungs in pale argent*, or of the Scali of Florence, who bore *Azure, a ladder in pale or*. If the former, this piece could not well be later than 1387, when Antonio della Scala was driven from Verona by Gian Galeazzo Visconti of Milan, and retired to Venice. In the coat of the Scali of Verona the ladder is commonly supported by two

dogs, which would naturally be crowded out here.

Scali of Florence; England, 1277, 1279-80, 1323-4;³⁰ France, 1299-1360.³¹ See, too, on No. 76. The Scali of Florence were the wealthiest among the financiers who supported the Guelph party, and, with the Frescobaldi, were the predecessors of the Bardi and Peruzzi at the court of Edward III. [PL XV. 11.]

14. *Obv.*—As that of No. 13. *Rev.*—An eagle displayed perched on a pack of merchandise. The type interrupts a border of 10 cinquefoils. Size 6. Piton, ii, No. 87; Rouyer and Hucher, p. 175 and Pl. xvii, 145; De la Tour, No. 715 ob., 716 rev.

As to the reverse, the eagle on these counters, whether on a pack (Nos. 53, 54, 81) or not (Nos. 29, 82), is capable of several explanations. (1) Rouyer and Hucher³² call it the Italian eagle, by which they perhaps meant the traditional eagle of ancient Rome. (2) During the struggle between the Guelphic and Ghibelline factions the families that belonged to the latter party often assumed the Imperial eagle, which till the accession of Sigismund in 1411 was single-headed,³³ usually as an addition to their arms in the form of *A chief of the Empire*. The Scali, however, were originally and as a rule Guelphs.³⁴ (3) It looks as though, when on a pack symbolical of trade, this device was used as a stock type for their jettons by Italian merchants,

³⁰ O. C., 167; *Arch.*, 254, 280, 312.

³¹ P. i. p. 78.

³² Pp. 175-6.

³³ Crollalanza, *Giornale Araldico*, 1835-6, p. 129. Martin Leake, however, Garter in 1754, in his *Origin and Usage of Arms*, n. d., p. 4, antedates this to the Emperor Wenceslaus in 1394, and Mr. W. de Gray Birch to the same monarch (*Seals*, 1907, p. 294).

³⁴ Machiavelli, *Hist. Fl.*, Bk. II, ch. i.

for it is found associated with, besides the coat of Scala as here, the fleur-de-lys of Florence,³⁵ with a crown and initials,³⁶ with the obverse of our No. 55,³⁷ with the Lion of St. Mark,³⁸ with a key,³⁹ with the arms of France,⁴⁰ and with the mound (if it be the mound).⁴¹ It occurs as late as 1742 on the seal of the Corporation of Merchants of Florence.⁴² Piton's explanation of the eagle on Nos. 81-2 below will be given in that place. On the pack see No. 21.

15. *Obv.*—A heater-shield charged with the arms of the Franzesi of Florence and ensigned with the fleur-de-lys of their city, which interrupts a border of 18 bezants. *Rev.*—A round shield charged with the arms of the Gentili of Genoa and Siena and ensigned with a double-parted cross. The type interrupts at top and bottom a border of 16 bezants. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$. Barnard, p. 107, No. 10.

The Franzesi bore *Paly of six gules and argent, a fess or*, and *Paly argent and azure, a fess or*. The Gentili bore *Or, a cross gules quarter-pierced of the field*. Piton⁴³ gives cuts of the seals of the famous financiers of the former family known in France as Biche and Mouche, but, as is often found in early paly coats, the field in the same arms is not always divided in the same way, and sometimes even pales are shown.⁴⁴

Manetto Franzesi represented the Bardi of

³⁵ No. 53 below.

³⁶ No. 54.

³⁷ Rouyer and Hucher, No. 146.

³⁸ *P.*, ii, No. 86.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 88.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 89.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, No. 91.

⁴² *Ibid.*, i, pp. 48, 258.

⁴³ i, pp. 103-3; ii, p. 100.

⁴⁴ On this piece and on No. 19 the coat is shown as three pales, on No. 17 as four above and three below the fess, on No. 18 as four pales, on No. 16 as five pales above the fess and three below it.

Florence in England *temp.* Edward III;⁴⁵ Franzesi of Florence; France, 1280-1314.⁴⁶ The Gentili of Genoa and Siena were doing business with England during the period 1227-50,⁴⁷ and, what may be especially important for the elucidation of this piece, Jacopo di Gharardi Gentili represented the Franzesi in England *temp.* Edward III.⁴⁸ [PL. XV. 13, 14.]

16. *Obv.*—A heater-shield charged with the arms of the Franzesi and ensigned with the head of a cross potent. The field outside the shield was originally semée of small dots, an early French fashion, but the piece is rather corroded. *Rev.*—A heater-shield charged with a circle enclosing a cross potent cantoned by four pellets, and there is a pellet in each angle of the shield. The spandrels outside the shield are filled with ornaments, and there are a few small dots in the spaces left. Size 6. Piton, ii, No. 74; De la Tour, No. 86. Perhaps minted in France, where Biche and Mouche were established.
17. *Obv.*—A heater-shield charged with the arms of the Franzesi within two granulated circles. The spaces between the shield and the inner circle

⁴⁵ *R.*, 132.

⁴⁶ *P.*, i, pp. 66-72, 92-3, 102-14.

⁴⁷ *H.S.*, 190, 227, 229; *Arch.*, 261, 265.

⁴⁸ *R.*, 134. Rouyer (*Rev. Num. Fr.*, 1899, p. 359) doubted whether Piton was right in ascribing the coat on the obverse to Biche and Mouche, and gave a like shield associated as reverse with an obverse of the Anglo-Gallie sterling type of jetton. But this association suggests that the similarity of the arms on his piece, which are probably English or French, is merely a coincidence. A possible explanation is that his piece is a mule like No. 52 below. The earliest French Roll of Arms, c. 1300, edited by M. Prinnet in the present year, contains (No. 9) the arms of Musciato Guidi dei Franzesi, the "Mouche" above mentioned.

are filled with small pellets. *Rev.*—A cross, each arm of which ends in four pellets, within a tressure of four arches: in each spandrel is a larger pellet or a bezant. All within a plain border. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$. Perhaps minted in France.

18. *Obv.*—A heater-shield charged with the arms of the Franzesi. In the centre of the fess is a roundel. A border of 23 bezants. *Rev.*—A rose, and above it three fleurs-de-lys. A scattered border of bezants interrupted by the type. Size 5.
19. *Obv.*—A heater-shield charged with the arms of the Franzesi and ensigned with a cross which interrupts a border of zigzags with a pellet in each angle. No inner circle. *Rev.*—Similar to that of No. 18, but the two outer fleurs-de-lys are seeded. No inner circle and no border. Size 5. Barnard, p. 107, No. 11. Somewhat similar borders appear on Piton's Nos. 73 and 118, in his vol. ii. [Pl. XV. 12.]
20. *Obv.*—Similar to the reverses of Nos. 18, 19. No inner circle or border. *Rev.*—A floral design which may be a conventional lily viewed from above. A border of pellets. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$. *Collection Richard*, p. 160, lot 1330, where the description is certainly inaccurate.
21. *Obv.*—The charges from the shield of the Albizzi of Florence used as a badge and surmounted by the head of a cross pattée. The type interrupts a border of 12 bezants. *Rev.*—A pack, or bundle, shaped to fit a horse's back. A border of 17 bezants. Size 6. Barnard, p. 106, No. 4; Piton, ii, No. 180; Neumann, No. 35,524, but both faces wrongly described. *Cp.* Piton, i, p. 86; Peruzzi, Tav. V, but the reverse inaccurately shown.

As to the obverse the Albizzi bore *Sable, two concentric annulets (or arm-rings) or*. The argent chief charged with a sable cross that appears on the seal of 1396⁴⁹ was perhaps a later addition, or may have been crowded out here. The pack or bale on the reverse, symbolical of merchandise, is a common and natural type on such pieces.⁵⁰ This bale appears, accompanied by a square one, on the seal of the Merchant Company of Ildribaldeschi, of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century;¹ also on the seal of 1277 of the *Marchands Lombards et Italiens* in Paris;² and again on a leaden *méreau* of the *Écurie* of Jeanne of Burgundy, queen (1328-48) of Philippe VI of France.³

For the Albizzi in France see Piton, i, pp. 85-6.

22. *Obv. and Rev.*—Similar to No. 21, but the circles on the obverse are smaller, and the bezants on both faces are larger. There are 12 on the obverse, 18 (one small) on the reverse. Size 6. Jetton of the Albizzi of Florence.
23. *Obv. and Rev.*—Similar to Nos. 21-2, but on the obverse the inner circle is larger in proportion, the cross-head is potent, and there are 14 bezants. On the reverse there are 24 bezants. Size 5. Jetton of the Albizzi of Florence. [Pl. XV. 15, 16.]

⁴⁹ P., i, p. 86. Mr. G. F. Hill points out that this chief was not always used: an example of 1510 occurs from which it is absent (Marquand, *Robbia Heraldry*, p. 126, No. 238).

⁵⁰ See the references in Barnard, *loc. cit.*

¹ Blanchet and Schlumberger, p. 117, No. 378.

² P., i, p. 123.

³ Forgeais, *Plombs historiques*, iii. 176; and his *Nomenclature des Corporations Parisiennes*, 313, where, too, on p. 291, a third form of this pack is to be seen. It might possibly be a purse, but that is much less likely.

24. *Obv.* and *Rev.*.—Similar to Nos. 21-3, but on the obverse there is a pellet within the inner circle, the cross-head is potent, and there are 12 bezants. On the reverse are 22 bezants. Size 5. Jetton of the Albizzi of Florence.
25. *Obv.* and *Rev.*.—Similar to Nos. 21-4, but on the obverse the inner circle is very small, and the cross is plain. The bezants on both faces are larger than usual: on the obverse there are 10, on the reverse 17. Size 5. Jetton of the Albizzi of Florence.
26. *Obv.*.—The same charges from the Albizzi arms, but ensigned with the fleur-de-lys of Florence. The type interrupts a border of 14 bezants at top and bottom. *Rev.*.—Two keys in saltire, their bows connected by a looped thong. The type interrupts a border of 10 bezants. Size 5. Jetton of the Albizzi of Florence. Piton, ii, No. 156. The bows of the keys are circular with two bars above each bow, as on Nos. 27-8, and the wards are as in Nos. 27-8, 51. As to this type of the crossed keys several explanations suggest themselves: (1) Some Italian families were granted this charge by the Papacy as an augmentation, but I have found no Albizzi coat that bears it; (2) it may have been copied from Papal money, on which the crossed keys, whether united or not by a thong or rings, are so familiar; (3) it may have been merely a symbol of security.⁴ The last is the least likely here. Besides the examples that appear in this list, the crossed keys are found on Italian jettons in association with an obverse of the Lion of St. Mark of Venice,⁵ and with a reverse bearing a cross pattée.⁶

⁴ See Barnard, p. 112, No. 6.

⁵ *P.*, ii, No. 83.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 98.

27. *Obv.*—Similar to that of No. 26, but the circles and bezants are smaller, and the fleur-de-lys is wider. There are 14 bezants. *Rev.*—Similar to that of No. 26, but the treatment differs somewhat, and there are only 9 bezants. Size 5. Jetton of the Albizzi of Florence. [PL XV. 17.]
28. *Obv. and Rev.*—Similar to those of Nos. 26-7, but on a smaller scale. On the obverse are 12 bezants, on the reverse 11. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$. Jetton of the Albizzi of Florence.
29. *Obv.*—A heater-shield charged with an eagle displayed. The angles of the shield interrupt a border of 21 bezants. *Rev.*—A long cross pomelle which cuts an inner granulated circle; in each canton of the cross is a quincunx of pellets. All within an outer granulated circle. Size 5. For the obverse see Piton, ii, No. 75, reverse, where he queries the eagle of Pisa. But it is associated there with the obverse of our No. 18 which shows the arms of the Franzesi of Florence. The eagle of Pisa was really the single-headed Imperial eagle that appears on coins of that city.⁷ See on Nos. 84-5 below, and on the eagle generally, No. 14 above.

Agolanti of Florence bore *Gules, an eagle or*, and Agolanti of Bologna *Or, an eagle argent*. Giacomo (or Jacopo) Agolanti of Pistoia; England, 1268-9, 1277, 1279-80.⁸

Dati of Milan bore *Or, an eagle displayed sable*. Bonturi Dati of Lucca was the best known money-lender in Europe in the early fourteenth century.⁹

⁷ E. g. Engel and Serrure, iii, p. 1381; Lefewei, ii, p. 32, and Pl. xiv, 56.

⁸ O. C., 140-1, 165, 167; Arch., 272, 280.

⁹ P., i, p. 47.

Valori of Florence bore *Sable, an eagle argent*. Taldo Valori; England, *temp.* Edward III;¹⁰ and he represented the Bardi of Florence here in 1313-14, 1326-7.¹¹

30. *Obv.*—A heater-pear shield apparently charged with the arms of the Pulci of Florence. A border of 12 (?) sixfoils, interrupted at the top by R A, and at the bottom by the point of the shield. *Rev.*—A monogram (?) and issuant from it a fleur-de-lys which interrupts a border of 13 bezants. Size 6. Piton, ii, No. 157; *Collection Richard*, p. 159, lot 1325. The same confusion between paled and paly coats that was noticed under No. 15 above occurs with these arms. Pulci of Florence is variously stated as bearing *Paly of six argent and gules*,¹² *Argent, three pales gules*,¹³ and *Gules, three pallets argent*.¹⁴ The initials R A, which occur also on No. 44 below, may denote some representative of the Pulci, but I have found no names to fit them. The fleur-de-lys on the reverse doubtless stands for Florence. If the monogram there is to be read as B doubled, the following names offer themselves: Grisio dei Barbarini represented the Pulci here in 1306-9;¹⁵ Raniero Bellincioni represented them here in 1294;¹⁶ Raniero Bellinchori represented them here in 1298;¹⁷ and Raniero Belyntheni represented both the Pulci and the Rembertini of Florence here in 1297-8.¹⁸ It is possible, however, that this is no monogram, but two bales of

¹⁰ *R.*, 133.

¹¹ *O. C.*, 154; *Arch.*, 312; *R.*, 133.

¹² Petra-Sancta; Ginnani.

¹³ Gonzaga; Rietstap.

¹⁴ Howel Wills, p. 166.

¹⁵ *O. C.*, 143-4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 143.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Arch.*, 285. I suspect that some of these last three names relate to the same person.

merchandise, one on the top of the other. Or, again, are both intended?

31. *Obv.*—A plain cross cantoned by four similar cross-lets within a granulated circle. A border of 22 bezants. *Rev.*—As the obverse, but there are only 21 bezants. Size 6. Piton, ii, No. 110. Is this one of the early presentments of the arms of Jerusalem in which the central cross is simpler than the later forms? See, *e.g.*, the seal of Philippe de Courtenai as titular Emperor of Constantinople, 1272–83.¹⁹
32. *Obv.*—A heater-shield charged with LIBERTAS in bend. A border of 13 (?) fleurs-de-lys. *Rev.*—The seeded fleur-de-lys of Florence, much as on the famous *Fiorino d'oro* of that city. A border of fleurs-de-lys, the number uncertain. Size 6. *Libertas* was a motto used by several cities of North Italy. It is found *in bend*, as here, on money of Siena both before and after the period of these counters, while the arms of the republic of Lucca were *Azure, LIBERTAS in bend between two fillets or*. A shield charged with a bend inscribed LIBERTAS appears, too, on the view of Pisa in 1290 given by Peruzzi.²⁰ The combination of this obverse and reverse, however, suggests a jetton of Florence, and among the shields depicted on the Palazzo Vecchio there is one bearing as arms *Azure, LIBERTAS in bend or* for the Republic or for the Priors of Liberty.
33. *Obv.*—A circular shield charged with *A pale between two roundels* (or the field may be *per pale*)

¹⁹ Schlumberger, *Scaux et Bulles des Empereurs Latins de Constantinople*, 1890, p. 20, and Pl. iii. 6.

²⁰ Appendix, p. 77.

and ensigned with a cross patriarchal. A border of 14 bezants interrupted by the type at top and bottom. *Rev.*—Two keys in saltire, their bows joined by a chain, or by a thong with a ring in the middle. A border of 18 bezants interrupted by the thong. Size 6½. For the obverse see Piton, ii, No. 137, which, however, has a border of quaterfoils. For the reverse see on No. 26. The bows of the keys are round, and the wards are as in No. 50 below.

34. *Obv. and Rev.*—Around shield charged with *A plain cross* (or a field *Quarterly* or *Party per cross*) and ensigned with a cross combined in monogram with Ω . Or, again, it may be, not a shield, but the mound and cross with the latter carried down throughout, combined in monogram with Ω . A border of 13 bezants interrupted by the cross. Size 6. Barnard, p. 106, No. 1. For the monogram *cp.* Piton, ii, No. 119, reverse.

If the circle is armorial:—

Manfredi of Venice bore *Quarterly argent and azure*; Manfredi of Treviso, *Quarterly azure and argent*; Manfredi of Bologna, *Quarterly sable and argent*. Bernardo Manfredi of the Cerchi Neri of Florence; England, 1278-80, 1299.²¹

Marchi of Verona bore *Quarterly argent and gules*. Bartolommeo Marchi of Siena; England, 1277-80.²²

Mora of Venice bore *Quarterly argent and or*. Ponzio dei Mora; England, 1271-2.²³

But, after all, does the Ω merely stand for *Maria*, as suggested under No. 6? [Pl. XV. 18.]

²¹ *O. C.*, 168, 145; *Arch.*, 280.

²² *O. C.*, 167; *Arch.*, 280.

²³ *Arch.*, 272.

35. *Obv. and Rev.*—As No. 34, but from a different die.
36. *Obv.*—A cross within a circle (as to which see No. 34), the shaft of the cross prolonged upwards and assisting to form Ω , SS, or a fleur-de-lys. The type interrupts a border of 12 bezants at top and bottom. *Rev.*—As the obverse, but there are only 10 bezants. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$.

Since this type is found associated with a reverse that suggests the scaling-ladder of the Scali of Florence,²⁴ we are perhaps to read SS rather than Ω . In that case, the likelihood of the circle and cross being armorial is lessened, while possibly the monogram may do double duty by representing also the Florentine lys.²⁵ Or, once more, is it Ω for *Maria*?²⁶

37. *Obv.*—B surmounted by a cross with a flourish round its shaft. A border of 15 bezants interrupted by the head of the cross. *Rev.*—A lion rampant. A border of 16 bezants. Size 6. For the reverse see Piton, ii, No. 82, reverse, which is associated there with the reverse of No. 8 above (*q. v.*) as obverse. This also may be a jetton of Biccherna of Siena, a lion being the bearing of that city.²⁷ The flourish on the B is possibly a bale-mark, such as those given by Piton,²⁸ and which by the Florentine statute of 1302 had to be placed on merchandise. Compare Nos. 57, 63, 88, below. That these bale-marks were sometimes introduced on jettons is clear, as Piton points out.²⁹ Failing

²⁴ See *P.*, ii, No. 155, and Nos. 13, 14 above.

²⁵ *P.*, *loc. cit.*, explains it simply as the lys of Florence.

²⁶ See Nos. 6, 34, above.

²⁷ See the seal in *P.*, ii, p. 29.

²⁸ *ii*, pp. 15-26.

²⁹ *ii*, No. 166. The "flourish" may, however, stand for *p* or *s*. See on No. 88 below.

Biccherna of Siena, we have still to account for the B and the lion.

Bonaccorsi of Verona bore *Argent, a lion rampant gules*. Reniero Bonaccorsi, partner of Bonsignori of Siena; England, 1262.³⁰ "Corus" Bonaccorsi, merchant of London, 1336-7.³¹

Bonafaccio of Bologna bore *Sable, a lion or*, as principal charge. Riccardo Bonafaccio of Lucca; England, 1289-91.³²

Bernardo Bellenati of Bologna bore *A lion rampant*, the shield ensigned with a B.³³ [Pl. XV. 19.]

38. *Obv.*—A pear with two leaves, slipped, pendent. A border of 21 square quaterfoils. *Rev.*—As the obverse, but there are only 19 quaterfoils. Size 6. *Cp.* Piton, ii, No. 200; De la Tour, No. 744. Jetton of the Peruzzi of Florence displaying a charge from the canting arms of that family, the earliest form of which seems to have been *Azure, three pears two and one or*.³⁴ The Peruzzi were a rising firm in 1312, and, with the Bardi, succeeded the Scoti and Frescobaldi at the court of Edward III; England, 1290,³⁵ 1311-15,³⁶ 1323-4,³⁷ and 1338.³⁸ Eight members of the family represented the firm here in the reign of Edward III.³⁹ Tommaso dei Peruzzi; England, 1337-9,⁴⁰ France, 1293, 1322, and c. 1330.⁴¹ Like the Bardi, the Peruzzi failed in 1345, Edward III being unable, owing to his French war and other reasons,⁴² to pay his debts to them. [Pl. XV. 20.]

³⁰ *H.S.*, 210. ³¹ *Arch.*, 317. ³² *O.C.*, 165; *Arch.*, 283.

³³ Seal in *P.*, i, p. 226. France, 1370.

³⁴ *Petra-Sancta*, p. 513; Spener, ii, Pl. 17.

³⁵ *P.*, i, p. 58. ³⁶ *O.C.*, 153, 163, 168. ³⁷ *Arch.*, 312.

³⁸ *P.*, i, p. 218. ³⁹ *R.*, 134. ⁴⁰ *Arch.*, 319-21.

⁴¹ *P.*, i, pp. 58-9. ⁴² For which see Russell.

39. *Obv.* and *Rev.*—As No. 38, but with 17 bezants on one face and 18 on the other. Size $5\frac{1}{2}$.
40. *Obv.* and *Rev.*—As Nos. 38-9, but with 16 bezants on one face and 17 on the other, and at the junction of the three stalks is an annulet. Size $5\frac{1}{2}$. Piton, ii, No. 200, which, however, has 20 bezants; De la Tour, No. 744; Peruzzi, Tav. V.
41. *Obv.*—As Nos. 38-40, but with a border of 20 cinquefoils on each face. *Rev.*—S, from the upper extremity of which issues a cross. A border of 18 bezants interrupted by the cross. Size $5\frac{1}{2}$. Jetton of the Peruzzi of Florence. As to the S, a Silvestro dei Peruzzi was a member of the firm in 1322.⁴³ [Pl. XV. 21.]
42. *Obv.*—A goat climant within a border of 12 cinquefoils interrupted by the type. *Rev.*—A device of doubtful interpretation intersected by two crosses in saltire and surmounted by a third. A border of 17 cinquefoils interrupted by the head of the third cross. Size 6. There is no known bale-mark resembling the device on the reverse. If a letter, it might be intended for *omega*, or possibly for H, of which a somewhat similar form is given by Cappelli.⁴¹
- Bellincioni of Florence bore *Gules, a goat climant argent*. Raniero Bellincioni represented the Pulci of Florence in England, 1294.⁴⁵ [Pl. XV. 22, 23.]
43. *Obv.*—Two maces in saltire the handles of which interrupt a border of 14 bezants. *Rev.*—As the obverse, but there are 18 bezants. Size 6.
- Jetton of the Gondi of Florence and Milan whose

⁴¹ P., i, p. 59.

⁴² P. 206, line 1, No. 7. See also Chassant and Delbarre, *Dict. de Sigillographie*, 1860, Pl. i.

⁴⁵ O. C., 143.

arms were *Azure* (or *Or*), *two maces in saltire, their heads in chief, or* (or *sable*).⁴⁶ The Gondi appear in the list of Florentine bankers printed by Peruzzi.⁴⁷ [Pl. XV. 24.]

44. *Obv.*—The initials R ∞ below a Latin cross which cuts a granulated inner circle and interrupts a border of 16 bezants. *Rev.*—Two leaves in saltire within a granulated inner circle. A border of 22 bezants. Size 5. Barnard, p. 107, No. 106. (This better specimen has shown that the objects on the reverse are leaves.) The initials R ∞ have already appeared on No. 30.

45. *Obv.*—Similar to the reverse of No. 44. *Rev.*—A key, wards to the (heraldic) right. The bow, from the left side of which issues the head of a cross fourchy, interrupts a border of 14 bezants. The bow is lozenge-shaped with one bar above it, and the wards are of a simple form. Size 5. Gilt.

Riccardi of Florence and Rome, originally of Lucca, bore *Azure, a key in pale, wards in chief to dexter, argent*.⁴⁸ The Riccardi of Lucca was one of the firms which had the largest dealings with the English kings; England, 1262–96;⁴⁹ France, 1296–9.⁵⁰

A single key, however, is frequently seen on early jettons, French, English, and Italian, and may be here, as often, merely a symbol of security.¹ Similarly a lock occurs on the Italian jetton No. 775 in De la Tour. The crossed leaves should

⁴⁶ Their handles *loro puniceo adstricto*: Petra-Sancta, p. 532.

⁴⁷ P. 221, and Appendix, p. 49.

⁴⁸ Petra-Sancta gives the key as *or*: p. 550.

⁴⁹ *H. S.*, 197, 201, 205, 216–17; *O. C.*, 141, 159, 166, 168; *Arch.*, 283–4; *P.*, i. pp. 58, 218.

⁵⁰ *P.*, i. p. 81.

¹ See Barnard, p. 112, No. 6.

link this piece with No. 44, but the solution has not been found.

46. *Obv.*—The head of a crosier which interrupts at the bottom a border of 18 bezants. *Rev.*—As the obverse, but there are 20 bezants. Size 6. A crosier appears again on No. 55.
47. *Obv. and Rev.*—Two keys suspended from a cross which interrupts a border of 17 bezants. The bows are round, and the wards different from those on any of the other keys here shown. Size 5. *Cp.* De la Tour, No. 780, reverse. This type is perhaps a detail taken from money of Papal Rome.² [Pl. XV. 25.]
48. *Obv. and Rev.*—Similar to No. 47, but on a smaller scale. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$. One face has 17 bezants, the other 16.
49. *Obv. and Rev.*—A key, wards to (heraldic) left, which interrupts a border of 12 bezants at top and bottom. Size 5. The bow is round, with a single bar above it; the wards are as in Nos. 59, 126, 128. As to this type, see on No. 45. The fact that the wards are turned to the heraldic sinister need not perhaps affect the possibility of the key representing the Riccardi arms. [Pl. XV. 26.]
50. *Obv.*—A key, wards to (heraldic) right, which interrupts a border of 12 bezants at top and bottom. The bow is round, and within it is a small pellet; the wards are of a simpler pattern than those of No. 49. *Rev.*—As the obverse, but the wards are slightly different. Size 5. For the key see on No. 45. Does the pellet within the bow indicate that the latter is solid?

² See, e. g., Lelewel, Pl. xv, No. 21, obverse.

51. *Obv.*— Ω within a border of 22 bezants. *Rev.*—A key, wards to (heraldic) left. A border as on the obverse. The bow is a horizontal lozenge with two bars above it; the wards are simple and as on Nos. 26–8. For the letter on the obverse see No. 6, and for the key No. 45. If the Ω does not stand for *Maria*, and if the key is that from the Riccardi arms, it may be worth noting that Francesco Malozardo was a member of the Riccardi firm in 1292, and then in England.³
52. *Obv.*— $\&$ [a] within a border of 16 bezants.⁴ *Rev.*—A fleur-de-lys below a rake-head. Round these are disposed five pellets, and the field is semée of small dots. No border. Size 6. Barnard, p. 108, No. 15; Piton, ii, Nos. 183–4. This piece is probably a mule, the obverse being a Lombard, the reverse a French type. A very similar jetton is described by De la Tour⁵ as a counter, or a *méreau*, of the royal stables of France. See, too, Rouyer, *Les Méreaux des Offices de l'Hôtel du Roi*, 1869, and the same writer in *Rev. Num. Franç.*, 1899, p. 358, fig. 3, where he says that this jetton served for calculation in the office of *la fourrière du Roy*; also Rouyer and Hucher, pp. 72–4; Fenardent, Nos. 2930–3; De la Tour, No. 292; and *cp.* Fontenay, *Manuel de Jetons*, 1854, p. 129.
53. *Obv.*—The same as the reverse of No. 14, but not from the same die. *Rev.*—A fleur-de-lys within a border of 19 bezants. Size 6. Piton, ii, No. 91, obverse; Rouyer and Hucher, p. 175, and Pl. xvii, 143; De la Tour, No. 704. On the eagle see

³ *O. C.*, 142.⁴ For this form of the letter see Cappelli, p. 1, col. 1, No. 2.⁵ No. 126.

No. 14; on the pack, No. 21. The lys on the reverse may indicate that this is a Florentine piece, as Rouyer and Hucher say it is.

Valori of Florence bore *Sable, an eagle argent*, on whom see No. 29 above. [Pl. XV. 27, 28.]

54. *Obv.*—b. [b] T. below a crown. A border of pellets and saltires (number uncertain) set alternately. *Rev.*—An eagle displayed perched on a pack. A border as on the obverse. Size 5. The obverse shows mixed lettering, minuscule and capital. On the crown see No. 10; for the reverse see Nos. 14, 21.
55. *Obv.*—A heater-pear shield charged with *A crosier between two pellets in base* and ensigned with a cross detached from the shield. The type interrupts a border of sixfoils of uncertain number (ill-struck). *Rev.*—An oval shield charged with *A pale* and ensigned with a cross. A border probably as on the obverse. Size 5. For the obverse see Rouyer and Hucher, p. 176, and Pl. xvii, 146, reverse, and Piton, ii, No. 202. As to the reverse, Pepi of Florence bore *Gules, a pale argent*. Bartolommeo Pepi of Genoa: France, 1291.⁶
56. *Obv.* and *Rev.*—A round shield charged with *A fess* and ensigned with a cross which intrudes into the shield as far as the fess.⁷ A border of 18 bezants interrupted by the head of the cross. Size 5. *Cp.* Piton, ii, No. 133, obverse. If armorial, the choice is so wide that, in the absence of tinctures and

⁶ P., i, p. 44.

⁷ The treatment suggests that the type is armorial and not merely the mound and cross, though possibly both types are combined.

initials, one is doubtful whether it is worth while to give instances of "Lombards" who used this simple coat. The following, however, may be the least unlikely.

Bagnesi of Florence bore *Azure, a fess argent*. Tommaso d'Arnoldo de' Bagnesi represented the Peruzzi in England *temp.* Edward III.⁸

Bandini of Florence bore *Argent, a fess gules*. Bertholetto Bandini, a member of the firm of the Riccardi of Lucca; England, 1285-90.⁹

The Guidi-Fiesolane of Florence bore *Gules, a fess argent*. Diotaviva Guidi, a partner of the Bonsignori of Siena; England, 1262.¹⁰ Giotto Guidi, of the Pulci of Florence; England, 1305.¹¹ Totto Guidi of Genoa represented the Bardi of Florence; England, 1315, 1334-5; Gascony, 1320.¹²

Guidiccioni of Lucca bore *Or, a fess azure*. Reniero Guidiccioni, of the Riccardi of Lucca; England, 1285-6.¹³ Ricciardo Guidiccioni, of the Riccardi of Lucca; England, 1279-1309.¹⁴ Paguncio Guidiccioni represented the Riccardi of Lucca; England, 1290.¹⁵

57. *Obv.*—A round shield charged with *A bend sinister between two annulets* and ensigned with a cross which interrupts a border of 14 bezants. *Rev.*—A double-headed Latin cross: in the centre of the shaft a double curve on each side. A border of 13 bezants interrupted by the heads of the cross.

⁸ *R.*, 134.

⁹ *O. C.*, 141-2.

¹⁰ *H. S.*, 210.

¹¹ *O. C.*, 142-3.

¹² *Ibid.*, 154; *Arch.*, 304; *Fœd.*, ii. 436.

¹³ *O. C.*, 141.

¹⁴ *O. C.*, 141-2, 165-8; *H. S.*, 182, 206; *Arch.*, 243, 281-4. See, too, the fourteenth-century seal of Ricciardo Guidiccioni in Blanchet and Schlumberger, p. 132, No. 432, which shows these arms.

¹⁵ *O. C.*, 142.

Size 6. Do the double curves represent a bale-mark such as those given by Piton?¹⁶ *Cp.* No. 37 above, and No. 63 below.

58. *Obv.*—A barred *R* within a circle surmounted by a Latin cross, the head of which interrupts a border of 12 bezants. *Rev.*—A round shield charged with *A fess and in base three roundels* and ensigned with a cross which intrudes into the shield as far as the fess. The head of the cross interrupts a border of 15 bezants. Size 5. On the barred *R* see No. 71 below.
59. *Obv.*—A barred *M* surmounted by the head of a cross fourchy which interrupts a border of 12 sixfoils. *Rev.*—Two keys in saltire, their bows connected by a looped thong. A border of 12 sixfoils with a pellet between each. Size 6. For the obverse *cp.* Piton, ii, No. 191, obverse; for the reverse see *ibid.*, No. 83, reverse. The bows of the keys are circular, the wards are as on Nos. 49, 126, 128. The barred *M* possibly does duty also as a shield charged with a fess. On barred letters see No. 71 below.
60. *Obv.*—A barred *M* surmounted by the head of a cross potent. Below the letter are three pellets. All within a border of 25 bezants. *Rev.*—As the obverse, but there are only 22 bezants. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$. See on No. 59.
61. *Obv.*—*H* with a mark of abbreviation above it (= AN?); to the left of it is *HR* in small letters. All within a plain circle. *Rev.*—*G* with another form of the same mark above it (= GN?). All within a plain circle. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$. The well-known mark of abbreviation as on the obverse appears in

¹⁶ ii, pp. 15-26.

Piton, No. 122, obverse. It is, of course, uncertain which face of this piece is the obverse, but that with the $\mathcal{H}R$ may help to this as giving fuller information, and so carrying greater importance.

There was an *Andrea de Rivegno* of the *Societas Rivegna* of Genoa among the financiers in the camp before Acre in Sept., 1191, whose bale-mark was a G,¹⁷ doubtless the initial of his city, towards which, if we read "Gn", as suggested above, we get additional help, just as we should by reading "An" on the obverse. Failing him, there was a Bolognese banker named *Giuliano Arardi* who advanced money to Richard I: the earliest known instance of a Lombard lending to an English king.¹⁸ Richard, like other crusading leaders, had dealings with these money-lenders, and, indeed, on him, as we know, fell practically the whole cost of the third crusade. There may have been later members of the firms above mentioned bearing the same initials, but the piece has the appearance of being older than the other jettons here discussed. There are no bezants, the colour of the metal is different, being much redder,¹⁹ and the general character is unusually primitive. If either of these attributions is correct the jetton is a remarkably early one. It came to me through M. Jules Florange, who also considered it to be Italian. [PL. XVI. 29, 30.]

62. *Obv.*— $\mathcal{H}L$ in monogram surmounted by a cross which interrupts a border of twelve cinquefoils. On each side of the lower limb of the cross is a bezant, and inside the \mathcal{H} a pellet, as in No. 64. *Rev.*—A pack. A border of 15 cinquefoils.

¹⁷ *P.*, ii, p. 17.

¹⁸ *H. S.*, 193.

¹⁹ Apparently it is of copper, not latten.

Size 5. Barnard, p. 108, No. 13; *cp.* Piton, ii. No. 181, which differs in having bezanty borders and no bezants flanking the cross.²⁰ On the pack see No. 21 above. The initials on the obverse might stand for the Aldebrandi of Lucca; England, 1274-5, 1277;²¹ or for Alderic of the Interminelli of Lucca, master of the mint at Malines to Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, the helm on whose armorial seal of 1386 is flanked by *HL*.²² If so, the object on the reverse might be a purse, for which, as said under No. 21 above, it is sometimes taken.

63. *Obv.*—*HS*, not in monogram. A border of 14 bezants. *Rev.*—*Ċ* surmounted by a cross which interrupts a border of 12 bezants, as does the top of the initial. Size 6. Barnard, p. 108, No. 12; *cp.* Piton, ii, No. 166, obverse. Attached to the vertical stroke of the *Ċ* is what may be one of the bale-marks referred to in Nos. 37, 57 above. The uniform type on money of Siena was *S*,²³ and, if the second letter on the obverse stands for that city,²⁴ we might perhaps venture to read here "Anacontini of Siena", and on the reverse "Tommasino". Tommasino Anacontini of Siena; England, 1228.²⁵ His date, however, seems too early for this piece. He may have had a son bearing the same Christian name. The bar on the *S* is probably a portion of the down-stroke in the minuscule form of the letter. [PL. XVI. 31, 32.]
64. *Obv.*—*Ĥ*, *i.e.* *H* topped with a crescent. Inside the letter is a pellet, as in No. 62. A border of 15

²⁰ In his cut the pack is shown upside down.

²¹ *O. C.*, 141, 167.

²² *P.*, ii, pp. 113-14.

²³ See, *e.g.*, Engel and Serrure, ii, p. 805; iii, pp. 1382-3.

²⁴ See No. 8 above

²⁵ *H. S.*, 229; *Arch.*, 261.

cinquefoils. *Rev.*—A tree, or a plant. A border of 15 bezants. Size 6.

65. *Obv.*—MR, not in monogram. A border of 22 bezants. *Rev.*—B *couché* surmounted by a fleur-de-lys, the top of which interrupts a border of 26 (?) bezants. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$.
66. *Obv.*—B *couché* within two concentric circles, the inner one plain, the outer one granulated, surmounted by a cross which cuts the circles and interrupts a border of 15 bezants. *Rev.*—As the obverse, but there are only 14 bezants. Size 5. A jetton of the Bardi of Florence? ²⁶
67. *Obv.*—B *couché* surmounted by the head of a cross pomelle; three pellets in the field. A border of 19 bezants. *Rev.*—As the obverse, but there are 21 bezants. Size 6. *Cp.* the reverse of No. 9 above, and Piton, ii, Nos. 81, obverse, and 201. [Pl. XVI. 33.]
68. *Obv. and Rev.*—Similar to No. 67, but on a slightly smaller scale. On one face are 21 bezants, on the other 20. Size $5\frac{1}{2}$.
69. *Obv. and Rev.*—Similar to Nos. 67–8, but on a still smaller scale than the last. Size 5. On one face are 25 bezants, on the other 22.
70. *Obv. and Rev.*—Similar to Nos. 67–9. Size $5\frac{1}{2}$. On one face are 21 bezants, on the other 20. This type being met with in England more often than any other among private Italian counters, one is tempted to think that these are jettons of the Bardi, who did so much business here from 1290, and especially from 1311, till their failure in 1345. See Nos. 9, 66.

²⁶ See on No. 70.

71. *Obv.*—BΘ, not in monogram. The top stroke of the B ends in a small cross, and the Θ is vertically barred. A border of 19 bezants. *Rev.*—As the obverse, but there are only 18 bezants. Size 4½. *Collection Richard*, p. 159, lot 1324; Piton, ii, No. 79, who calls the Θ "une autre lettre". But barred letters were not uncommon in our period. A vertically barred O appears, *e. g.*, on a bronze bell at Hildesheim, and on the monument of Richard II in Westminster Abbey (c. 1400). See, too, Cappelli, p. 220. The barred letters on Nos. 12, 58, 76-9, 83, also appear in more elaborate forms on the same monument.

A "Bonnat Octavian" [Ottaviano] was in France *circa* 1330,²⁷ and Baldo Orlandini represented the Peruzzi in England *temp.* Edward III.²⁸ [Pl. XVI. 34.]

72. *Obv.*—CΘ in monogram within two concentric circles, of which the inner one is plain, the outer one granulated, and surmounted by the head of a cross pattée which cuts both and interrupts a border of 15 bezants. *Rev.*—As the obverse, but there are only 14 bezants. Size 5.

Cione Miglione represented the Bardi in England *temp.* Edward III.²⁹ [Pl. XVI. 35.]

73. *Obv.*—G surmounted by a cross, the head of which interrupts a border of 12 bezants. To the left of the letter and intruding into the border is an undecipherable object. *Rev.*—A triple-topped mountain, with a pellet in each top, surmounted by a cross which interrupts a border of 11 bezants. Size 5½. *Cp.* Piton, ii, No. 175, obverse, where it is associated with a reverse of the canting type of

²⁷ *P.*, i, p. 30.

²⁸ *R.*, 134.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 133.

the gate (*janua*) that appears on money of Genoa. This is possibly, therefore, a Genoese jetton. But, as this conventional mountain is not uncommon in Italian heraldry, the G may be open to another explanation. Is this a counter of Pietro Tommasi of Florence, moneyer of the Duke of Burgundy at Ghent? His armorial seal of 1386³⁰ shows a shield charged with a triple-topped mountain surmounted by a cross. The seals (1386, 1402) of Bartolommeo Tommasi of Florence, also a moneyer to the Duke at Ghent at the same time,³¹ bear this charge. Other, perhaps less likely, suggestions offer themselves.

Gandolfi of Verona bore *Gules, a fess chequy argent and azure, and in base a triple-topped mountain or*. Gandolfi of Piacenza; France, 1299.³²

Grandoni of Verona bore *Azure, in base a triple-topped mountain vert surmounted by a tree-stump or*. Francesco Grandoni represented the Cerchi Bianchi of Florence in England, 1300,³³ and the Bardi of Florence in England, 1320.³⁴ [PL. XVI. 36.]

74. *Obv.*—G li in monogram, with perhaps a cross combined of a form similar to that seen in English merchants'-marks. A border of 17 bezants. *Rev.*—A lion rampant. A border of 16 bezants. Size 6. For the reverse *cp.* Piton, ii, No. 82, reverse.
75. *Obv.*—G P in monogram surmounted by the head of a cross potent. On the left of the shaft of the cross are four pellets arranged in cross, on the right a pear-shaped oval, or possibly a rude crescent. All within two concentric granulated circles with a border of small pellets between them.

³⁰ Figured in *P.*, ii, p. 113.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-15.

³² *P.*, i, pp. 45, 142.

³³ *O. C.*, 145.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 154; *R.*, 133.

Rev.—Similar to the obverse, but the pear-shaped oval is to the left of the cross and on its right is a quaterfoil, which, however, is probably meant to represent the same object as the four pellets on the obverse. Size 6. Since most of the Italian pieces that were in the *Collection Richard* are now in my cabinet, this is presumably Piton, ii, No. 68, which in that case is not quite accurately drawn. We are again faced with the impossibility of deciding whether these initials stand for (a) a Christian name and a surname, (b) a surname and a place-name, (c) the name of some person and that of his firm.

(a) Guido dei Pazzi; France, 1296.³⁵ (b) Gandolfi of Piacenza; France, 1299.³⁶ (c) Gherardi (Braccio) represented the Pulci of Florence; England, 1294, 1305;³⁷ Gherardi (Jacopo) represented the Peruzzi here *temp.* Edward III;³⁸ and Guidi (Giotto), a member of the Pulci, was in England, 1305.³⁹ Gherardo Pini represented the Ammanati of Pistoia; England, 1290,⁴⁰ and might be referred to either (a) or (b).

There is, however, another possibility. Can the monogram be read as GD? If so, Guido Donati suggests himself. He was prominent in England as representing the Frescobaldi Neri of Florence, 1279-80, 1288, 1297-8,⁴¹ the Bardi in 1309,⁴² and the Peruzzi *temp.* Edward III.⁴³

76. *Obv.*—GS in monogram surmounted by a cross. A border of 13 bezants interrupted by both the

³⁵ *P.*, i, p. 127.

³⁷ *O. C.*, 142-3.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 144; *Arch.*, 283.

⁴¹ *O. C.*, 152; Johnson, 322; *Arch.*, 283, 289.

⁴² *O. C.*, 154.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 142.

³⁸ *R.*, 134.

³⁹ *O. C.*, 142-3.

⁴³ *R.*, 134.

first letter and the head of the cross. *Rev.*—A fleur-de-lys within a border of 18 bezants. Size $5\frac{1}{2}$. Barnard, p. 107, No. 5; *cp.* Neumann, No. 35,550, where the obverse is wrongly described. The lys, though not seeded, suggests Florence, and Florentine names that would fit this local attribution are: Giacomo dei Spini represented the Spini of Florence; England, 1308–15.⁴⁴ Gherardo Siminetti represented the Pulci of Florence; England, 1294.⁴⁵ Giovanni Stefano represented the Peruzzi of Florence; England, *temp.* Edward III.⁴⁶ Guido dei Scali of Florence; France, 1299, 1300.⁴⁷ [Pl. XVI. 37.]

77. *Obv.* and *Rev.*—As No. 76, but from different dies. Size $5\frac{1}{2}$.

78. *Obv.*—G surmounted by a cross. A border of 8 sixfoils interrupted in three places by the type. *Rev.*—Two keys in saltire, their bows connected by a looped thong. A sixfoil on either side. The bows are round and spiked, the wards are elaborate and as in No. 127. No border. Size 6. The reverse is exactly the same as that of No. 127. [Pl. XVI. 38.]

79. *Obv.* and *Rev.*—H (HO?) surmounted by a cross. A border of 12 bezants interrupted by the type at top and bottom. Size 5. Piton, ii, No. 171, and perhaps De la Tour, No. 769, where it is read as H D O. [Pl. XVI. 39.]

80. *Obv.*—OP in monogram, or rather *lettres enclavées*, as is said in sigillography. A border of 19 bezants. As the O is enclosed in the loop of the P, the latter

⁴⁴ O. C., 153.

⁴⁵ R., 135.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁴⁷ P., i, p. 78.

is probably the more important letter. *Rev.*--As the obverse, but, there are 20 bezants.

This jetton may perhaps be attributed to Orlandino di Poggio⁴⁸ of Lucca, and, if so, is of especial interest to us, for not only was he doing business in England for more than thirty years (1278-1309) as representative of the Society of the Riccardi of Lucca,⁴⁹ but at one time (1278-9) he held the post of Warden of the Mint to Edward I.⁵⁰

If, however, we are to read P.O., it may be noted that Piero Orlandini represented the Peruzzi in England *temp.* Edward III.¹

81. *Obv.*--A Lombardic capital P² within a border of 6 cinquefoils which it interrupts in three places. Its extremities end in trefoils. No inner circle. *Rev.*--An eagle displayed perched on a pack, A border of 10 sixfoils interrupted at top and bottom by the type. No inner circle. Size 6. For the eagle see No. 14; for the pack, No. 21. Piton, ii, Nos. 94-6, considers this piece, and our next, to be jettons of Pisa on the strength of the P and the eagle, which he believes to be the eagle of Pisa, and cites seals of that city on which it appears.² The Imperial eagle is found, too, on Pisan money,⁴ where it is perched on an Ionic capital, replaced on the counters, as we see, by a pack, an emblem of merchandise. De la Tour⁵

⁴⁸ The "Rolandinus de Podio" of the records.

⁴⁹ O. C., 142, 166; H. S., 182, 200-1, 206; *Arch.*, 278-81, 284; *Feud.*, i, 649, 667-8.

⁵⁰ Rading, i, 26-7.

¹ R., 134.

² Similar to those of 1395-7, from Nordhausen, given in Day's *Alphabets Old and New*, 1910, Nos. 34, 77, 78.

⁴ P., i, pp. 47, 253; ii, pp. 7, 12 (twelfth century), and ii, p. 7 (fifteenth century).

⁵ E. g. Engel and Serrure, iii, p. 1381.

⁶ Nos. 709-11.

follows Piton in ascribing all these counters that bear a P majuscule to Pisa.

82. *Obv.*—A similar P to that on No. 81, but on a smaller scale and without the trefoils. A border of 14 bezants. There is an inner circle. *Rev.*—An eagle displayed, but not on a pack. A border of 16 bezants. Size 5. Piton, ii, No. 96; De la Tour, No. 710. Accepting the attribution given to No. 81, this would be a jetton of some Pisan banker or merchant.
83. *Obv.*—A monogram of which the first initial is $\overline{\text{P}}$ (?), the second P, surmounted by a cross, the head of which interrupts a border of 18 (?) bezants. *Rev.*—As the obverse, but there are only 15 bezants. Size 6.

If the first letter is $\overline{\text{P}}$, the following possibilities suggest themselves:⁶

(a) Antonio Pessagno of Genoa; England, 1299–1317,⁷ and in 1320 Seneschal in Gascony for Edward II.⁸ Andrea di Messer Amideo Peruzzi represented that firm; England, *temp.* Edward III.⁹ Arnoldi Peruzzi, whose son Pacino was head of the firm, 1293; France, 1293.¹⁰ (b) Anguissola of Piacenza; France, 1238–67.¹¹ Agnelli of Piacenza; France, 1278.¹¹ Ammanati of Pistoia; England, 1290–1300.¹² Amanazzi of Pistoia; France, 1293, 1296.¹⁴ Arcelli of Piacenza; France, 1296–1324.¹⁶ (c) Albinzino dei Pulci of Florence; England, 1305.¹⁷

⁶ See on No. 75.

⁷ O. C., 140, 152, 163, 166, 168; *Arch.*, 304, 306.

⁸ *Foed.*, ii, 436.

⁹ *R.*, 134.

¹⁰ *P.*, i, p. 58.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 74–5.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹³ O. C., 144, 160, 168; *H. S.*, 212, 219.

¹⁴ *P.*, i, p. 81.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 45, 99, 101, 170–3.

¹⁷ O. C., 143.

84. *Obv.*—S \propto S in monogram surmounted by the head of a cross potent. A border of 21 bezants. *Rev.*—As the obverse, but there are 22 bezants. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$.

M. Jules Florange tells me that in his opinion this is probably a jetton of Siena. The doubling of the S possibly assists to the attribution as impressing the importance of that letter. For the S as indicating Siena see No. 63 above. The Aldebrandi of Siena had business relations with both Henry III and Edward I, 1252-9, 1272-3.¹⁸ But the double S would perhaps be better accounted for if we could suppose that this was a counter of Angelerio Solaficii of Siena, who was in England at any rate as late as 1257.¹⁹ That date may not be too early for this piece. If, however, S stands for a surname, the following offer themselves: Angelo Solderini represented the Peruzzi in England *temp.* Edward III.²⁰ Arigo Sinachi of Lucca; England, 1277, 1279-80.²¹ "Ascelinus" (= Lancelotto) Siminetti of Lucca; England, 1370-1.²² Alberto Scoti; France, 1309-13.²³ [PL. XVI. 40.]

85. *Obv.*—T Ω M, or T Ω M, in monogram, surmounted by the head of a cross pattée which cuts two inner circles and a border of 17 small bezants. *Rev.*—As the obverse, but there are only 16 bezants. Size 5. If we may read an O into this monogram, an interesting conjecture suggests itself. Was it a joint counter of two contemporary relatives? Thaddeo Orlandi and Meo Orlandi respectively represented in England the Bardi of Florence and the Bonsignori of Siena in and about 1300.²⁴

¹⁸ *Arch.*, 265-8, 241, note.

¹⁹ *H. S.*, 195.

²⁰ *R.*, 135.

²¹ *O. C.*, 167; *Arch.*, 280.

²² *Arch.*, 326.

²³ *P.*, i. pp. 171-2.

²⁴ *O. C.*, 145, 154; *Arch.*, 285, 290.

86. *Obv.*—BORN·RASH on a fillet across the piece. Above and also below it is a rose with two leaves. A border of 14 sixfoils which is interrupted by the ends of the fillet. *Rev.*—As that of No. 13. Size 6. The inscription on the obverse = *Bona Razza*, i. e. "good family".
87. *Obv.*—An object resembling a trestle-table surmounted by a cross. A border of 14 bezants interrupted by the cross and the legs of the table. *Rev.*—As the obverse, but there are only 12 bezants. Size 6. [PL XVI. 41.]
88. *Obv. and Rev.*—A double-parted cross with a flourish round its shaft. A border of 15 bezants interrupted by the top of the cross and the end of the flourish. Size $5\frac{1}{2}$. Barnard, p. 106, No. 2. The flourish may be a bale-mark or possibly may represent a *p* or an *s*. As to the latter suggestion *cp.* the forms given in Cappelli, pp. 232-3, 305-6, and see No. 37 above. [PL XVI. 42.]
89. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion in the arena: he standing to right with his farther knee bent, a staff in his right hand and his left on the head of the lion, which is standing. He wears very slight drapery. A border of 9 bezants interrupted by the type. No inner circle. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark of Venice holding a Bible as usual. Three bezants below him. Size 6. Barnard, p. 108, No. 16, obverse; *cp.* Piton, ii, pp. 87-90; Von Schlosser,^{24a} p. 72 and Pl. xxi. 10-12. This Androcles type was misunderstood both by Fontenay²⁵ and by Rouyer and Hucher.²⁶ The latter believed it to represent a woman with a

^{24a} Vienna *Jahrbuch*, xviii, 1897.

²⁵ *Manuel de Jetons*, p. 57.

²⁶ *P.*, p. 175.

dog: the legend [*H*]umilitas leonis,²⁷ however, settles any question as to its interpretation. In this case the piece is evidently a jetton of Venice, and, indeed, the Lion of St. Mark is the reverse type usually associated with the Androcles obverse; but the latter is also found with various other obverses or reverses not Venetian.²⁸ The reverse type is taken from Venetian money of its period, such as the *Soldino* and *Tornesello*. Androcles (or Androclus) had no special connexion with Venice, for according to Apion's account²⁹ his exposure took place in the Circus Maximus at Rome.

In this type, when Androcles is turned to the right, his left leg is crossed behind his right; when he is turned to the left, his right leg is crossed behind his left. These are his usual attitudes; much less commonly his legs are both straight, as in Nos. 117-20 below. The obverse type is probably founded on some gem. The subject occurs on one described by Raspe,³⁰ where the lion, bridled, is being led by Androcles. The arrangement here, however, is much more like that on the gem of Dionysos and a Panther.³¹

These Androcles and Lion of St. Mark counters are in all likelihood *jetons banaux* made for the general public. [PL XVI. 43, 44.]

90. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to right as before, undraped (?), the lion sitting. A border

²⁷ No. 187 below.

²⁸ Barnard, p. 108, No. 16.

²⁹ Aulus Gellius, v. 14.

³⁰ No. 12,857.

³¹ Gori, *Museum Florentinum*, Pl. 87, Nos. 5, 6, and Pl. 83, No. 2. I am indebted to Mr. A. H. Smith, of the British Museum, for this suggestion. Von Schlosser (p. 74) is of opinion that this group was adopted and altered to suit Androcles.

of 14 bezants interrupted by the type. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark, but without a Bible. Nine bezants of a border where the type leaves space. Size 6.

91. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to right, slightly draped, the lion standing. Eight bezants of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark holding a Bible. Five bezants of a border where the type leaves space. Size 6. Piton, ii, No. 145, obverse.
92. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to right, undraped (?), the lion sitting. A border of 12 bezants interrupted by the type. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark holding a Bible. Eight bezants of a border where the type leaves space. Size 6.
93. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to right, rather more draped than usual, the lion standing. Seven bezants of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark with his Bible, or perhaps, as sometimes on these pieces, reckoning with jettons on a counting-board. Three bezants of a border where the type leaves space. Size 6.
94. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to right, slightly draped, the lion standing. Nine (?) bezants of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark to right (which is unusual), perhaps holding a counting-board, with a jetton on it, instead of a Bible. Eight bezants of a border where the type leaves space. Size 6.
95. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to right, slightly draped (?), the lion sitting. Nine bezants of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark (to left, as always here unless

otherwise is stated) holding his Bible. Six bezants of a border where the type leaves space. Size $5\frac{1}{2}$. Has been gilt.

96. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to right, undraped (?), the lion sitting. Ten bezants of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark without a Bible. Eight bezants of a border where the type leaves space. Size 5.
97. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to right, undraped (?), the lion sitting. Eleven bezants of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark without a Bible. Eight bezants of a border where the type leaves space. Size 6.
98. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to right, slightly draped, the lion standing. Eight bezants of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark, perhaps reckoning with jettons on a counting-board. Four sixfoils of a border where the type leaves space. Size 6.
99. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to right, with more and stiffer drapery, the lion sitting. Seven (probably originally eight, there is a fracture) bezants of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark holding either a Bible or a counting-board. Eight bezants of a border where the type leaves space. Size $6\frac{1}{2}$. Piton, ii, No. 146, obverse.
100. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to right, undraped, the lion sitting. Ten bezants of a border where the type leaves space. There is an inner granulated circle. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark with a Bible or a counting-board. Nine bezants of a border where the type leaves space. Size 6.

101. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to left with his farther knee bent, slightly draped and with long hair; his staff in his left hand, his right hand on the head of the lion, which is standing. An inner granulated circle; six sixfoils of a border in front of Androcles, and one behind his staff. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark apparently reckoning on a counting-board. Where the type leaves space there is a fragmentary border consisting of a bezant before the lion's nose, two sixfoils beneath him, and a bezant below his tail. Size 6. Similar to Piton, ii, No. 148.
102. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to left, slightly draped, the lion standing. Six sixfoils of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark holding either a Bible or a counting-board. Three trefoils below him. Size 6.
103. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to left, slightly draped, the lion standing. Five cinquefoils of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark holding a Bible or a counting-board. Five cinquefoils of a border where the type leaves space. Size 5½.
104. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to left, undraped, the lion standing. Seven sixfoils of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark apparently reckoning with jettons on a counting-board. Four sixfoils of a border where the type leaves space. Size 6. Barnard, p. 108, No. 17. Minard Van Hoorebeke⁹² erroneously supposed this to be a *méreau pour les pauvres* of Termonde.

⁹² iii. 173, No. 271.

105. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to left, draped and with long hair, the lion standing. Six sixfoils of a border where the type leaves space, and in front of Androcles half of a granulated inner circle. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark apparently reckoning with jettons on a counting-board. A sixfoil before his face and two below him. Size $5\frac{1}{2}$.
106. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to left, slightly draped, the lion standing. Five cinquefoils of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark either holding a Bible or reckoning as before. Four cinquefoils of a border where the type leaves space. Size 6.
107. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to left, slightly draped and his figure more squat than usual, the lion sitting. Four sixfoils of a border in front of him. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark either holding a Bible or reckoning on a counting-board. No border. Size 6.
108. *Obv.* and *Rev.*—Similar to No. 107. Size $5\frac{1}{2}$.
109. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to left, draped, the lion sitting. Seven sixfoils of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark, sitting and holding a Bible or reckoning on a counting-board. Two sixfoils in front of and two behind him. Size 6.
110. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to left, undraped, the lion sitting. Four cinquefoils in front of, one (perhaps originally more, but worn at that point) behind him. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark much as on No. 109. A cinquefoil in front of and another behind his head; perhaps also originally one below him. Size 6.

111. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to left, slightly draped, the lion standing. Five cinquefoils of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark much as on No. 110. Five cinquefoils of a border where the type leaves space. Size 6.
112. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to left, slightly draped, the lion sitting. Three pellets of a border in front of, and three behind, him. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark holding a Bible with two ties or clasps. A cinquefoil in front of and one behind his head; also three below the Bible. Size 6.
113. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to left, with long hair and probably draped (but worn). Seven sixfoils of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark either holding a Bible or reckoning on a counting-board. A sixfoil in front of his head, and two below him with a bezant between them. Size 6.
114. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to left, slightly draped, the lion sitting. Six cinquefoils of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark either holding a Bible or reckoning on a counting-board. One sixfoil behind, and two below him. Size 6.
115. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to right, slightly draped, the lion sitting. Eight bezants of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—(If heraldic) A triangular shield charged with either *An estoile* or *A pierced mullet of five points* and ensigned with a Latin cross, the shaft of which intrudes into the shield as far as the *estoile*. The cross interrupts an inner granulated circle and a border of 16 bezants. Size 6. Barnard, p. 108,

No. 16; *Collection Richard*, p. 160, lot 1331. Lanfrancchi of Bologna bore *Per pale sable and argent, a small (as here) estoile of five points counter-changed*. Lanfrancchi of Lucca; France, 1297.³³ Ricchi of Florence bore *Azure, an estoile argent* as principal charge. Giovanni Ricchi represented the Pulci of Florence; England, 1305.³⁴

116. *Obv. and Rev.*—As No. 115, but from a different die.
117. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to left, with long hair and slightly draped, the lion sitting. In this piece and in the next three both legs of Androcles are straight, neither is bent as is usual.³⁵ Six cinquefoils of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark apparently reckoning on a counting-board. No border. Size 6.
118. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to left, draped and squat of figure, the lion probably sitting. Four sixfoils of a border in front of him. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark either holding a Bible or reckoning on a counting-board. No border. Size 6½.
119. *Obv. and Rev.*—Similar to, but not quite the same as No. 118. Size 6½.
120. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to right, undraped and, like the last three, with straight legs; the lion sitting. Six sixfoils of a border where the type leaves space, and behind his head a fleur-de-lys. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark either holding a Bible or reckoning as before. A sixfoil in front of and another behind his head, and three pellets arranged in triangle below him. Size 6.

³³ *P.*, i, p. 81.

³⁴ *O. C.*, 142-3.

³⁵ See on No. 89 above.

121. *Obv.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to right, undraped, the lion sitting. His left leg is crossed behind his right, and his feet and also his head interrupt both an inner granulated circle and a border of bezants of doubtful number (ill-struck). *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark, either holding a small Bible and with tail cowed, or holding a scroll (too worn at that point to determine). All within an inner granulated circle, a border of pellets or small bezants, and an outer granulated circle. Size $5\frac{1}{2}$. A very unusual variant.
122. *Obv.*—Here the Androcles type is altered to Hercules, standing full-facing, wearing his lion's skin, and holding his club in his right hand; his left rests, as in the Androcles type, on the head of a small lion, which is sitting. Eleven cinquefoils of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—The Lion of St. Mark, with his forepaws resting on what may be either a folding counting-board⁵⁰ ruled with lines for casting, or on a Bible open at the Gospel of St. Mark, the lines in that case representing manuscript. Twelve cinquefoils of a border where the type leaves space. Size $6\frac{1}{2}$. *Cp.* Von Schlosser, Pl. xxi, No. 13, and De la Tour, No. 718, obverse, where, however, there is no lion. [Pl. XVI. 45.]
123. *Obv.*—Similar to that of No. 122, but there are 14 smaller cinquefoils. *Rev.*—Similar to that of No. 122, but there are 10(?) cinquefoils.
124. *Obv.* Hercules, in his lion's skin, standing three-quarters to left, his knees bent as though to indicate walking. His club is not discernible, and there is no lion. Four cinquefoils of a border where

⁵⁰ Barnard, p. 253, No. 5.

the type leaves space. *Rev.*—**SMAR** (S. Marcus) across the field, interrupting an inner granulated circle, and also a border formed of B (B, perhaps for *Beatus*) repeated fourteen times. Size 5½. Gilt. A Venetian jetton, of c. 1400 judging from the lettering on the reverse.

125. *Obv.*—The Lion of St. Mark holding an open Bible. Behind him **S M**. One bezant out of an original four (?) is still discernible below the Bible. (The piece is worn at the bottom.) *Rev.*—A man standing, slightly turned to the left, holding in his right hand a spear. To the right of him is **S T**. Traces of the cinquefoils or sixfoils of a border where the type leaves space. Size 5. The obverse and reverse call to mind the figures on the pair of granite columns set up near the Ducal Palace at Venice in 1180: the statue of St. Theodore, one of the patron-saints of the city, being added in 1329, a date which limits the antiquity of this counter. The spear was an emblem of St. Theodore.
126. *Obv.*—The Lion of St. Mark almost certainly reckoning with jettons on a counting-board. Five sixfoils of a border where the type leaves space. *Rev.*—Two keys in saltire. The bows are round and joined by a looped thong, the wards as in Nos. 49, 59, 128. All within an inner granulated circle and a border of 12 cinquefoils with a pellet between each two. Size 6. *Cp.* Piton, ii, No. 83.
127. *Obv.*—A lion rampant debriused by a bendlet. The type interrupts an inner granulated circle and a border of 12 bezants. *Rev.*—As that of No. 78. No inner circle or border. Size 6. De la Tour, No. 701.

Niccolini of Florence bore *Azure, a lion rampant argent, debriused of a bend gules*. Jaccopo Nicolini

represented the Bardi of Florence; England, *temp.* Edward III.³⁷ Orlandi di Pescia of Florence bore *Or, a lion rampant azure surmounted of a bend gules*. Thaddeo Orlandi represented the Bardi of Florence; England, 1298, 1300.³⁸ Meo Orlandi, brother of Thaddeo, represented the Bonsignori of Siena; England, 1299.³⁹ Armano Orlandi of Florence was in 1289 receiver of certain payments from Edward I to Philip IV of France.⁴⁰ [Pl. XVI. 46, 47.]

128. *Obv.*—Similar to that of No. 127. *Rev.*—Two keys in saltire. The bows are round and joined by a looped thong; the wards are as in Nos. 49, 59, 126. All within an inner granulated circle and a border of 12 cinquefoils. Size 6.
129. *Obv.*—Similar to that of No. 127, but on a somewhat smaller scale. There have been probably 12 bezants in the border. *Rev.*—Two keys in saltire. The bows are round, the wards different from any of the others. All within an inner granulated circle and a border of 13 cinquefoils. Size 6.
130. *Obv.*—A square shield of the canting arms of Carrara, *Argent, a four-wheeled chariot* ["carro"] *in pale, the pole in chief, gules*, with late fourteenth-century helm, crest, and mantling. The crest is a Moor's head horned between a pair of wings; the mantling is powdered with trefoils. All within a trace that follows the main outline of the achievement. In each of two compartments to right and left is the letter H, and in each of the four spandrels is a small bezant. *Rev.*—The charge from the shield, on a larger scale, used as a badge, within a trace that follows its outline. Right and left

³⁷ *R.*, 133.³⁸ *O. C.*, 154; *Arch.*, 285, 290.³⁹ *O. C.*, 145.⁴⁰ *H. S.*, 179.

of it is H—H. A border of 11 cinquefoils and 12 pellets, or small bezants, set alternately. Size 6. With the reverse *cp.* Von Schlosser, Pl. xxi, No. 3. De la Tour, No. 713, but not identified there; *Collection Richard*, p. 159, lot 1325, but not identified and the reverse wrongly described. This beautiful and most interesting little piece is a jetton of either Francis I of Carrara, seventh Duke of Padua,⁴¹ who was driven from his city in 1388, or his son Francis II, who, in 1390, with the help of the Duke of Bavaria, recovered it from its captor Gian Galeazzo Visconti of Milan. The former alternative is the more likely, as H appears on money of Francis I and not on that of his son. A jetton, too, of Francis I, bearing his name and also these initials, is known.⁴² Our counter is perhaps the work of one of the Sesti of Venice.⁴³ [Pl. XVI. 48, 52.]

131. *Obv.*—A fiddler seated on a bench playing the viol. *Legend*: DĀNGĀTĪ — BRIGĀTĪ ("Dance Troupe!"). *Rev.*—Two persons dancing. *Legend*: GĀLĀHI — ĀLĀGRI ("Foot it merrily!"). Size 5. Barnard, p. 109, No. 19; De la Tour, No. 736. The dancers may be women with their skirts tucked up. If so, the row of buttons seen on the left-hand one would help to fix the date of the piece as late fourteenth century. M. Adrien Blanchet, indeed, in his review of my *Casting-Counter and Counting-Board*,⁴⁴ agreed that this jetton was the work of one of the Sesti of Venice, and referred to J. Von

⁴¹ Succeeded 1355.

⁴² See Blanchet, *Nouveau Manuel*, ii. 454.

⁴³ See Mr. G. F. Hill's *Medals of the Renaissance*, 1920, *Introd.*, p. 16; and his *Introd.* to Fabriczy's (Hamilton) *Italian Medals*, 1904, pp. 8-11; also Von Schlosser, pp. 74-5.

⁴⁴ *Rev. Num. Franç.*, 1917.

Schlosser in the Vienna *Jahrbuch* quoted above.⁴⁵
See, too, No. 130 *fin*.

132. *Obv.*—The clothed bust of a bearded man, to right, reading from a volume upon a bookstand. On the pages are the letters *FILO*, and below the bust is a trefoil between two dolphins. *Legend*: *SORRI·BEN·H·M·L*. *Rev.*—*Aequitas* as a female, but draped only over the left shoulder, with her usual attributes: in her right hand a pair of scales in equilibrium, and on her left arm, over which falls part of her drapery, a horn of plenty. *Legend*: *G·VST·I·Q·M·**. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$. Von Schlosser, Pl. xxi, Nos. 32–3. Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. The obverse, perhaps copied from some very early quattro-cento gem, shows a Stoic reading a book inscribed *Filo[sofia]*, and the epitome of Stoic philosophy in the legend supports this explanation. The association with a reverse of *Iustitia* would be suitable enough in such a case. This reverse is an ancient Roman coin-type.⁴⁶ [Pl. XVI. 49.]

133. *Obv.*—A laureated head to left. In front of it three quaterfoils between two trefoils, behind it the same. *Rev.*—A royal personage seated on a throne, the back of which is diapered; his feet rest on a footstool. To the left is a quaterfoil between two pellets, to the right are two trefoils and between them a cinquefoil enclosed in an oval which terminates at top and bottom in a fleur-de-lys. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$. Von Schlosser, Pl. xxi, No. 43, for the reverse. Late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. A classical obverse, save for the small ornaments, combined with a mediaeval reverse.

⁴⁵ Pl. xxi, Nos. 39, 40, 44.

⁴⁶ See, *e. g.*, Stevenson, p. 17.

The obverse probably shows the conventional head of a Roman emperor, and the reverse perhaps anachronistically represents the same emperor in state. [Pl. XVI. 50, 51.]

134. *Obv.*—An archbishop seated on a throne of beaded pattern holding his cross before him. *Legend* (fictitious?): $\text{L}\infty\text{h}-\gamma\omega\pi$. *Rev.*—A cross within a chaplet of oak (?) leaves with a ring at the top. *Legend* (fictitious?): $\text{O}\chi\text{h}\text{H}\Pi\text{C}\infty\text{h}\text{O}\nabla\text{h}+$. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$. Of German workmanship (?) for Italian use.
135. *Obv.*—Bust of a man, to right, wearing a mail standard, plate armour, and an ear-ring (?). Behind and in front is a six-rayed star, and below each a group of three trefoils enclosing a pellet. A border of 26 lozenges. *Rev.*—A sixfoil, or rose, surrounded by three crowns and three six-rayed stars set alternately. A border of 21 ill-struck bezants. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$. The mail standard, the fashion of the hair, and the shaven face on the obverse seem to narrow the date of this piece to the latter part of the fifteenth century. The person represented is probably Ludovico Sforza, "Il Moro", Duke of Milan. See the medal (1488) of him by Caradosso, where also he is wearing a mail standard, in Fabriczy,⁴⁷ and the *Testone* shown by Hazlitt.⁴⁸ The form of the shoulder-plate (though our specimen is rather worn at that point) suggests that this counter is copied from the medal rather than from the coin, but the features here are heavier. The reverse bears a strong resemblance to a common Nuremberg reverse of the succeeding century,⁴⁹ except that in the latter fleurs-de-lys replace the

⁴⁷ Hamilton, p. 168, and Pl. xxxiii. 6.

⁴⁸ *Coinage of the European Continent*, 1898, p. 448.

⁴⁹ Barnard, p. 222, Nos. 82-7.

stars. Indeed, that fact, the thinness of the flan, and the general inferiority of the workmanship, lead one to suspect that this jetton was made there. That city was already producing casting-counters.⁵⁰
[Pl. XVI. 53, 54.]

136. *Obv.*—Bust of a man, to right, wearing a mail standard, plate armour, and a large ear-ring (?). Behind and in front is a sixfoil or rose. A border of 20 jambages. *Rev.*—As that of No. 135, but with a border of 20 jambages. Size 4. Probably an inferior version of the preceding piece, the features of the bust bearing far less resemblance to Il Moro, nor are they any more like those of his nephew and predecessor Gian Galeazzo Sforza.
137. *Obv.*—St. George, of Genoa (?), aureoled and in mail, standing, slightly to right, and drawing his sword. *Legend*: QVRSO · CILAPPA · PAPAHOPE. (The tail of the Q may be a flaw: if so, the letter is O, and after the last P there is a comma-like form which also may be a flaw.) *Rev.*—Androcles and the Lion. He to right, draped, the lion sitting. *Legend*: VIIILITAS — LEONIS. Size 4½. De la Tour, No. 737, reverse; Von Schlosser, Pl. xxi, Nos. 14, 17, 21; *cp.* Piton, No. 142, in which the saint is seated on a chair, and the legend reads STII [= N]TV — GORGE; also his p. 69, obverse. Although the armour on the obverse is, at the latest, of the beginning of the fourteenth century, this piece is probably not older than the end of that century, and perhaps reproduces some familiar and earlier presentment of the saint. In that case it might just possibly be a very early jetton of the famous bank of St. George at Genoa, which, however, is first heard of in 1407. Still, as Michelet

⁵⁰ See Carl Friedrich Gebert, *Geschichte der Nürnberger Rechnungsfennigschläger*, 1918.

puts it, "Genoa was a bank before it was a city", so it may have been struck for some other Genoese banker or financial house. [Pl. XVI. 55, 56.]

138. *Obv.*—St. George, aureoled, on horseback, to left, spearing the dragon. *Legend*: S. GÖRGII. *Rev.*—As that of No. 137, but from a different die. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$. Von Schlosser, p. 72 and Pl. xxi, Nos. 14, 15. See on No. 137. The saint's cloak is streaming behind him, to denote rapidity of movement, just as he appears in the wall-painting in the English Chapel of St. George at Rhodes.⁵¹
139. *Obv.* and *Rev.*—A double parted cross, with an annulet in the centre, extending to an inner plain circle. *Legends*: Fictitious. Size $4\frac{1}{2}$. M. Jules Florange, from whom this came to me, considers it and No. 140 to be Italian jettons.
140. A marguerite with its leaf (?), *en creux*. Size 5. See on No. 139.
141. *Obv.*—A crown within two granulated circles; between the circles a fictitious legend. *Rev.*—A cross fleurdelysée, the arms of which are joined so as to form a lozenge: circles and legend similar to those on the obverse. On both faces there is a blank space beyond the outer circle, as though the piece were struck on a flan too large for the dies. Size 7. This counter bears some resemblance to the French jettons of the Couronne type,⁵² but the treatment and general appearance, as well as the greenish colour of the metal, are very different. It does not suggest German or Low Countries make, and may be Italian.

FRANCIS PIERREPONT BARNARD.

⁵¹ Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights*, 1908, Frontispiece and p. 92. See, too, Von Schlosser, p. 72.

⁵² Barnard, pp. 121-2, Nos. 67-74.

XII.

"PERERIC."

MR. H. W. C. DAVIS has written to me suggesting that the inscription "Pereric M" may possibly be a mutilated rendering of "Empereriz M", "Empereriz", according to Murray, being one of the O.F. forms of the feminine of "Empereur".

In view of the difficulty and interest attached to these coins, I think it is desirable to put on record a suggestion which puts upon this inscription an interpretation more plausible than any at present furnished.

At the same time, attention should be drawn to the obstacles which stand in the way of an attribution of the "Pereric" coins to the Empress Matilda, namely, the mints at which the coins were struck and their strong contrast in respect of both weight and style with the coins that bear her name.

The mints at present known are Bristol, Canterbury, Lincoln, London, Stamford, and (probably) Winchester. I need not repeat my views, which are already published in B. M. C., *Norman Kings*, vol. i, p. lxxxvi, in regard to the difficulty of assigning to the Empress coins struck at Canterbury, Lincoln, and Stamford.

The contrast between the two series of coins in

respect of weight may be clearly seen from the following figures:

Weight in grains	22- 22.9	21- 21.9	20- 20.9	19- 19.9	18- 18.9	17- 17.9	16- 16.9	15- 15.9	14- 14.9	13- 13.9
Number of "Pereric" coins	5	1	3	2	2	—	—	—	—	—
Number of "Matilda" coins	—	—	—	—	2	3	3	1	3	1

The above figures include all the specimens known to me except five of "Pereric" (namely, Montagu Sale, 1896, lot 361, and Roth Sale, 1917, lots 143-145), and one of Matilda, a fragment only, in Roth Sale, 1917, lot 149.

An examination of style and technique affords a similar contrast between the two series. The coins inscribed "Pereric" are all of the best workmanship of the period and are evidently struck from dies worked with piece-punches; those of Matilda are of very rude meagre style. This difference does not indicate the employment by Matilda of foreign craftsmen, for Turchil at Bristol was probably the moneyer whose name appears on coins of the last issue of Henry I, and Swetig at Oxford coined for both Stephen and the Empress and, in fact, used in one instance for the reverse of a Matilda coin a normal die which was presumably already in his possession for use with a Stephen obverse. The Matilda dies were necessarily made locally and not, as the regal coins, at London, and therefore were not worked with the regular tools; the "Pereric" coins were made with the proper irons and were presumably made at London and sent thence to the provincial mints.

All these obstacles, it is true, might be removed if it

were possible to assume that in 1141 the Empress was *de facto* queen for a sufficient time to obtain control of the mint organizations both in London and the country. Before her acceptance as queen, her currency, being limited in circulation to her own adherents, would naturally be low in weight and was necessarily struck from locally made dies, but after her assumption of the royal prerogatives the official apparatus of the mint would have been at her command and she could then have had dies of good workmanship sent from London to the other mints, and the coins, being the regular currency of the country, would be of the standard weight. But this does not appear to have been the case; if Mr. Round's account in *Geoffrey de Mandeville* be still accepted, she was no sooner admitted to London by the citizens than the gates were opened to Stephen's queen and the Empress put to flight.

Further, assuming the Empress to have had control of the London establishment and thence of the country mints, why does she then use a mutilated form of a French title and invert the normal order of name and title (for the letter M which occurs at the end of the inscription on some coins must presumably be read M[atildis]) when a normal form Matildis Imperatrix, or Comitissa, had already been in use on her coins?

However, our knowledge both of the coins and of the history of the period are at present so scanty that I think the suggestion which Mr. Davis has kindly forwarded to me should be put on record for future reference.

G. C. BROOKE.

I have forwarded a proof of this paper to Mr. Davis, and I append his reply :

BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

October 27, 1920.

DEAR MR. BROOKE,

I am grateful to you for the proof of your letter on the PERERIC series, to which I can hardly add anything, as I know nothing about the coinage of the period but what I have learned from your Catalogue. I should like, however, to point out that in 1141, during her stay in London, the Empress issued a charter in favour of William Fitz Otto, giving him seisin of his land at Bentfleet (Essex). This charter is printed in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxxi, p. 387. The MSS. known to me are Harl. MS. 84, p. 289, and *Cartae Antiquae* (P. R. O.) 23(14). Round (*G. de Mandeville*, p. 86) accepts the date as June 1141. I presume that this charter was given for services rendered as Cuneator. It occurs to me that the Empress or her advisers may have avoided in this issue the title "Matildis Imp." for fear of confusion. Queen Matilda was at this moment the leader of the opposite party. I do not see any particular difficulty about the mints named on these coins; as to this point Mr. Andrew's argument (*Catalogue*, i, p. lxxxviii) seems sufficient.

Yours sincerely,

H. W. C. DAVIS.

MISCELLANEA.

COINS OF METAPONTUM, TARENTUM, ETC.

WITH reference to certain coins described among the acquisitions of the British Museum in 1919 (above, pp. 101 ff.), Mr. Vlasto writes:

"As I see that, on page 103, you refer to a Metapontine didrachm (Garrucci, Pl. ciii. 16) purporting to have the signature **KIMΩN**, I think it may interest you to hear that Garrucci's reading is quite fanciful.

"This didrachm of Garrucci's was purchased with the whole of Garrucci's collection by J. Hirsch during 1910, and nearly all of the Garrucci collection was sold by auction in the xxx Sale (1919). In fact Garrucci, Pl. ciii. 16 = Hirsch, xxx, Pl. vi, No. 197.

"The coin is *plated* and reads only .. **INON** [certainly not **KIMΩN**], and Hirsch, in the above sale catalogue, not recognizing the coin, read the inscription [**PHΓ**] **INON**, and described this didrachm as an alliance coin of Rhegium and Metapontum. Such an alliance, though possible, in the light of the small unique obol from Sir A. J. Evans's cabinet now in the Jameson coll. [cf. Jameson Cat., Pl. xxiii. 463,

with $\begin{smallmatrix} \Sigma\Gamma \\ \Sigma\eta \end{smallmatrix}$ (viz. Terina and Rhegium) on *rev.*] is most improbable. The true reading is given by Mr. Jameson, in whose cabinet there is a splendid specimen (also plated) from the same dies as Garrucci, Pl. ciii. 16 (cf. Jameson's Cat., Pl. xvi, No. 330 [**TA**] **EPINON**), and the coin is an alliance type: Terina and Metapontum.

"There is also in the Jameson collection [L. c., Pl. xxiv, No. 486] a didrachm of *Terina*, which is, in my opinion, certainly the work of the *same* engraver, with the blundered inscription **ΣΟΜΑΝΝΕΤ** (*sic*). A better specimen of this type, from same dies, is in the Vte. de Sartiges' collection (cf. Pl. v, No. 79, of the plates illustrating his cabinet printed

by Vte. de Sartiges for private circulation) and another in the British Museum: B.M.C., 22 (*Num. Chron.*, 1883, Pl. xii. 12, m); cf. Regling, *Terina*, No. 75.

"The above shows that Kimon's signature must disappear from the Metapontine mint, and I would prefer to consider your Nos. 4 and 5 of your Pl. xiii as the work of the well-known engraver ΚΑΛ [K abbreviating ΚΑΛ as at Tarentum, cf. Evans, pp. 69 f.] who signed some well-known Metapontine didrachms about ten years later in style than the Weber coins.

"Page 101. Tarentum, Pl. xiii. 2, of your paper is from same dies as the splendid specimen at Berlin (*Beschr.*, Taf. xii. 182) and another nomos in my cabinet (= Hirsch Sale xxix, Pl. i. 27).

"The other Tarentine described by you, p. 102 (with Δ on *obv.* and *rev.*), is also represented in my cabinet and in the Santangelo Naples collection, though Fiorelli (Nos. 2435-39) does not notice the Δ on *rev.*

"Pl. xiii, No. 3, Heraklea, is from same dies as Mr. Jameson's Pl. xii. 251 (from the Calabrian find, cf. *Horsemen of Tarentum*, *Num. Chron.*, 1889, p. 217, No. 1), formerly in Sir Arthur Evans's first collection."

SUPPOSED COINS OF MINASSUS.

THE authenticity of the alliance coin of Minassus and Conana in the Waddington Collection (Babelon, *Inventaire*, Pl. viii. 23) has long been in doubt (cp. Head, *Hist. Num.*, 2nd ed., p. 709). In a copy of the first edition of the latter work I find a note in Head's handwriting: "Stilianopoulos has a coin of the same type reading ΜΙΝΑΚΕΩΝ ΑΔΡΑ[C]ΚΕΩΝ ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ. The legend, like Waddington's, looks tooled." Mr. C. D. Bicknell has recently submitted to me a specimen of the latter coin, in the Lewis Collection at Corpus College, Cambridge. It reads ΑΑΡΑΚΕΩΝ, not ΑΔΡΑΚΕΩΝ, and was among a number of unsorted coins brought back by Lewis from Asia Minor in the eighties. On comparing this coin with Waddington's, it becomes clear that both are forgeries based on a common original; casts have been made from that original, the inscriptions altered, and the whole surface drastically tooled. Not a square millimetre of the original

surface seems to have survived. Both coins must be relegated to the limbo of forgeries ; but, in doing so, it is satisfactory to be able to point to the original on which they are based. This is evidently a coin of Marcus Aurelius struck by Laodicea and Pergamum in alliance. Comparison of the illustration in the *Inventaire* with that in B.M.C. *Phrygia*, Pl. liii. 2, will make this clear.

G. F. H.

CANDIDA'S MEDAL OF JEHAN LE TOURNEUR.

WITH reference to the notice of M. Victor Tournéur's monograph on Candida, published in this volume, p. 90, M. Tournéur writes :

"Bruxelles, le 26 juillet 1920.

"Il n'y a pas à en douter, la médaille du Téméraire et de Maximilien est bien de Candida. Nous ne possédons malheureusement pas à Bruxelles le catalogue de la collection James Simon, mais l'article de Bode dans la *Zeitschrift* m'avait échappé. Or, la gravure qu'il y donne ne laisse aucun doute. Mais quelle différence entre l'exemplaire de Berlin et celui du Cabinet des Médailles ! On ne dirait jamais que ce sont deux exemplaires différents d'une même médaille. Et pourtant notre fonte est ancienne ; je la crois même du xv^e siècle.

"Quoi qu'il en soit, de la Tour avait raison, vous l'avez parfaitement démontré et j'en suis fort heureux.

"Pour ce qui est du monogramme de la médaille de Jehan-le-Tourneur, toute question d'amour-propre mise à part, je ne suis pas de votre avis.

"J'ai réétudié le monogramme. J'y ai en vain cherché les lettres K et E que vous y signalez, et je n'y ai retrouvé que F A M T. (avec l'abréviation classique) et S. Cela donne bien famulus, et toutes les lettres sont distinctement indiquées par des méplats dans le modelé du monogramme.

"La résolution du revers par J(ohannes) C(aroli) famulus est inadmissible, dites-vous ; on ne pourrait admettre que le mot le moins important formât le principal élément du dessin.

"L'objection est-elle bien juste ? De qui s'agit-il ici ? De Jehan-le-Tourneur. Son portrait et son nom sont au droit ; sa fonction est indiquée au revers ; or, c'est le mot qui

exprime cette fonction qui est le mot capital de la légende, et c'était lui, par conséquent, qui devait être le motif principal du dessin.

"Peut-être m'objecterez-vous encore que c'est traiter le puissant duc d'une manière bien irrévérencieuse, que de le désigner sous la forme familière de Caroli. Il y en a un autre exemple dans l'œuvre de Candida : Maria, Karoli filia, sur la seconde médaille à l'effigie des archiducs.

"Bref, je crois que je suis dans le vrai, et par-dessus le marché, j'ai l'intuition d'avoir donné la bonne solution. Je suis convaincu que, si vous étudiez vous-même longuement la chose comme je l'ai étudiée pendant près de cinq ans avant d'aboutir, vous finirez par vous convaincre que sur ce point j'ai donné la solution définitive.



"Pour la question des A de la médaille de Jehan de la Gruthuse, j'ai donné la raison de la discrétion de Candida : peu après la libération de celui-ci, Jehan de la Gruthuse avait passé au service du roi de France, et était par conséquent devenu l'ennemi de Maximilien au service duquel Candida était resté.

"Quant à la médaille de Lavagnoli, l'exemplaire que vous reproduisez fait certes penser à Candida. La facture se rapproche très fort de celle de la médaille de la collection James Simon, et je n'ai rien à ajouter ni à redire à ce que vous avez exposé à ce sujet avec beaucoup de clarté.

"Bref, mille mercis pour vos critiques ; c'est ainsi qu'on arrive à se rapprocher de la vérité."

A careful drawing, made from a cast, and submitted to M. Tourneur for approval, is reproduced here, and will allow readers to judge for themselves. Certain lines—especially the slanting ones across the middle hasta, and the lowest slanting one across the right-hand hasta—were not visible to the draftsman on the cast, but have been added by M. Tourneur's direction after comparison with the

original. It is on these lines that the reading of the final *s* depends. In a subsequent letter M. Tournneur says :

“Les lacs d'amour sont posés arbitrairement sur le jambage de gauche de l'*A* et le jambage de droite de l'*S*, et ne font pour ainsi dire pas partie du monogramme qu'ils ne lient pas d'une manière intime ; ils sont ajoutés après coup. Je pense que c'est la tête de l'*S* que vous avez prise pour un *E*. Je l'ai cru aussi autrefois.”

REVIEWS.

The Coinage of Nero. By EDWARD A. SYDENHAM, M.A.
Pp. 176, with 4 collotype plates. Spink and Son, 17
and 18 Piccadilly, W. 1. 1920. £1 1s. net.

It may be said at once, without any exaggeration, that this is easily the best monograph on the subject available. The arrangement is clear and well conceived, the descriptions are careful, the notes illuminating. It contains much that is of value for the serious study of the coinage of the reign; but, at the same time, it is not difficult reading, and the collector who has not time for specialization will find that his requirements have not been overlooked. One strong point of the book is the inclusion of the coins of Nero struck during his reign throughout the Empire. The materials for a complete corpus are not yet available, but Mr. Sydenham has succeeded in providing a good temporary substitute for one. Undoubtedly there are great advantages in bringing the whole coinage of a reign under one general survey; for the Imperial and local issues naturally throw light on one another, and a full understanding of both is only possible to the student who can control the entire material. Other excellent points are the introductory notes, succinct but full of interest and clearly the fruit of long research; the notes on the coinage connected with the great fire of Rome and the visit to Greece; the discussion of the mint of Lugdunum and the explanation of the symbols, globe and aegis.

A study so complete and extensive must inevitably raise points that are still subject to dispute, and in some cases Mr. Sydenham himself might be ready to modify his views. A few of these points may be mentioned here. The gold *quinarîi* of Nero, without the EX S. C. characteristic of the first period, are, to judge from style, the product of the Roman mint, not, as Mr. Sydenham suggests, of an Eastern one. The formula EX S. C. itself, while undoubtedly implying some degree of Senatorial control, cannot, I think, be taken to imply that the *aurei* and *denarii* so marked were actually issued by the Senate; they form the obvious sequence to the coinage of Claudius, which was certainly issued imperially.

Mr. Sydenham's views on the reform of Nero are characterized by lucidity and sanity of judgement; he is certainly

right in rejecting M. Soutzo's ingenious but fanciful speculations and insisting on letting the evidence of the coins speak for itself and not forcing an interpretation on them. Whether any copper coins were struck, as Mr. Sydenham suggests, before A.D. 63 must, I think, be regarded as extremely doubtful. The experiment of a coinage of five denominations in brass—sestertius, dupondius, as, semis, and quadrans—was apparently (1) confined to the mint of Rome, (2) limited in time to about two years at the most. The question of weight of the "Aes" coinage is of course extremely difficult. I incline to think that Mr. Sydenham underestimates the weight of the orichalcum as at 126.3 grains and of the orichalcum quadrans at 31.5; but certainty here will not be attainable until a really large number of carefully made weighings are available. On the vexed question of Nero's tribunician dating Mr. Sydenham suggests what is probably the current interpretation, without, however, quite deciding to adopt it. The fact seems to be that the difficulties in the tribunician dating do not exist for the coins, which give us a regular and satisfactory sequence from **TR P** to **TR P XVIII** without any derangement whatever. The evidence for this view is clearly given by Mr. Sydenham himself and will be found to be quite convincing. It may be noted that the date **TR P XI** is recorded as occurring on a sesterce in the Naples Collection; Mr. Sydenham was apparently not aware of its existence. A few other criticisms may be briefly summarized. The title **NERO CAESAR** only occurs properly with the *rev.* **AVGVSTVS GERMANICVS**; the coin with *rev.* **VESTA** is a mule. The legend **NERO CAESAR AVGVSTVS PP** is not satisfactorily attested. Mr. Sydenham is very possibly right in attributing some of the aurei and denarii of the later period to Lugdunum, but goes too far in restricting the use of the *obv.* legend **IMP NERO CAESAR AVG PP** to that mint. The globe never occurs on Roman coins of Nero. The coins on which it occurs with portraits in the Roman style are probably early products of the Lugdunum mint, when Roman models were being very closely copied. I have noted one case where aegis and globe are combined on the same coin; but this is absolutely exceptional. The reasons for the lack of reference to the war in Britain may well be sought in the dissatisfaction of the Government with what was at best a series of unfortunate episodes, narrowly saved from complete disaster. The disappearance of Agrippina's name from the coinage after it had been transferred from the obverse to the reverse might have been more fully commented on. The figures

styled by Cohen 'Mars' and 'Roma' respectively are probably intended for 'Virtus' and 'Mars', and it might have been better to decide definitely to make the change.

In conclusion, it may be observed that Mr. Sydenham has a keen eye for art, as well as for antiquarian interest, and that he has the courage of his convictions and dares to say a much-needed word in praise of the too much belittled work of the die-engravers of the period. A comparison with the finest works of Greek art is a severe test for any series of coins to undergo. The art of the early Empire, seen at something like its best on the finest coins of Nero, deserves better than to be damned with faint praise, and it is not without reason that collectors have always shown a special fondness for the impressive series of sestertii of the reign.

Mr. Sydenham is to be heartily congratulated on a welcome addition to the scanty series of good monographs on Roman Imperial Coins.

H. M.

Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow: Coins of the Mughal Emperors. By C. J. Brown. Vol. I, pp. xv+89, twenty-two plates. Vol. II, pp. 468. Oxford, 1920, £2 10s.

In point of numbers the Mughal collection in the Lucknow Museum is the largest that has yet been catalogued; the 5,800 coins, however, include a considerable number of duplicates. The majority of the coins came to the Museum through treasure-trove found in the United Provinces. The only considerable acquisition made by purchase was the fine collection made by Mr. R. W. Ellis, which was bought in 1904. The collection is weak in gold coins, especially in rarities. In silver, however, it is very strong. The series of silver coins of Jahangir is quite unrivalled, and those of Akbar in silver and copper will bear comparison with those of any other collection. A number of obvious gaps might have been filled without much difficulty before the catalogue was undertaken; some of the north-western mints, for example, are not represented at all. Of the known mints two-thirds are represented, about a dozen of them by coins believed to be unique. The arrangement of the catalogue follows that adopted by Mr. Whitehead in his *Catalogue of the Punjab Museum Collection*. A most valuable addition is a complete list with translations of the Persian couplets used on the coins. Mr. Brown has collected eighty of these, a number being published for the first time. A study of this list reveals the large number of new coins that have been brought to light since the Numismatic

Society of India began its operations. The list of words and phrases, epithets of mints, &c., will also be of great use to the student. The table of ornaments with its full index represents a considerable amount of labour, and we have already found it very useful in attributing coins on which the traces of the mint-name were insufficient to give an identification with certainty. In the map which forms the frontispiece to Volume I, Mr. Brown has brought up to date our knowledge of Mughal mint-towns. It is not always an easy task to identify these, owing to the fondness the emperors had for renaming their conquests.

Mr. Brown's two volumes represent a great deal of labour, and we congratulate him most heartily on finishing this long-promised work. The task, which Mr. R. Burn had reluctantly to abandon, could not have been placed in more competent hands. The two volumes are produced by the Clarendon Press in the handsome fashion that characterized Mr. Whitehead's volumes, and the plates call for special commendation.

We hope that this volume will be followed by catalogues of other series in the Lucknow Museum, which ought to be strong in Hindu coins also. The Mughal series has had more than its share of attention in India of late, and it will be a long time before the amount of new material available will justify another volume on the series when so much remains to be done elsewhere.

J. A.

A. D. MORDTMANN, *Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlvi-Legenden* (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. VIII, Part I, 1854). Reprinted 1918. Brockhaus, Leipzig. 8 Marks.

One of the rarest books on Oriental coins has been Dr. A. D. Mordtmann's *Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlvi-Legenden*, which appeared as the above part of the *Z.D.M.G.* It has long been out of print and very difficult to obtain. We are glad, therefore, to call attention to the fact that the German Asiatic Society has issued an anastatic reprint of it at a most moderate price—even including the various *Zuschläge*. The book is quite indispensable to all who wish to study one of the most important series of Oriental coins, and those who have sought in vain for a copy will now have an opportunity of acquiring it. The reproduction of the text and of most of the plates leaves nothing to be desired, but it is unfortunate that Plates VI-IX were not done afresh, especially as they were not very good in the original edition.

J. A.

Grains and Grammes: a table for the use of numismatists.
Pp. 35. British Museum. 1920. 3s. net.

Readers of the *Numismatic Chronicle* have long been familiar with the comparative tables of grains and grammes appended to each volume of the British Museum Catalogue of Coins. With these tables a little calculation is usually necessary to get the exact equivalent. This little volume, compiled by the Keeper of Coins, enables the exact equivalent to be found at once, as it gives the gramme equivalent of every weight from $\frac{1}{10}$ grain to 350 grains, rising by tenths, and then to 400 by one grain, and from 400 to 500 by 10 grains. It will be of great service to the student of metrology working in grammes, and there is no reason why its use should be limited to numismatists, as chemists and others are met by the same difficulty. There is a misprint on p. 27; for 16.02 read 17.02.

J. A.

Helps for Students of History, No. 36: Coins and Medals.
By G. F. HILL. Pp. 62. Society for Promoting
Christian Knowledge. 1920. 1s. 6d. net.

An older generation of contributors to the *Chronicle* was fond of asserting that numismatics is the handmaid of history. Historians, however, have done little to support this claim, and the apparent difficulty of using numismatic evidence correctly has too often resulted in its being entirely neglected. The object of Mr. Hill's little book is to explain to the historian and the general reader the nature of the evidence which is given us by coins for the study of the past and the methods by which it is deduced. In his first chapter he gives examples from various ages and countries of the importance of coins as documents for the study of history, religion, and economics; his second chapter deals with the methods by which the coins themselves are dated. A third section deals very briefly with medals. The second half of the book is a very full bibliography of standard works on coins and medals of all ages, which fills a most important gap in numismatic literature. We can think of nothing of importance that has been omitted. Friedensburg's useful little *Die Münze in der Kulturgeschichte* (Berlin, 1909) is perhaps worthy of a place on p. 47. The book is one which every student, whether of coins only or of history, should possess.

J. A.

The Medallion Portraits of Christ, the False Shekels, and the Thirty Pieces of Silver. By G. F. HILL, F.B.A.
Pp. 123, with 68 illustrations. Clarendon Press, Oxford,
1920. 18s. net.

Of the three essays in this volume the first two originally appeared in the *Reliquary* and the third in *Archaeologia*. They have been practically rewritten, and are now illustrated much more fully than in their original form. The first is the longest, and fills nearly two-thirds of the book. It is a most exhaustive inquiry into the medals which bear the portrait of Christ. Mr. Hill divides this essay into two chapters, the first dealing with the fifteenth and the second with the sixteenth century. He investigates the origin of the portrait found on the medals of the fifteenth century, which are all Italian, and concludes that the portrait is not to be traced directly to a Byzantine original. He finds its original in a Flemish picture of the school of Jan van Eyck, and gives a table showing its various developments. With regard to the story of the engraved emerald sent by Bayazid II to Pope Innocent VIII, one does not care to doubt the evidence of the medal (Fig. 7), but it is curious that the story is not readily verifiable. Bayazid was singularly free with presents of relics. He gave the right hand of John the Baptist to the Grand Master of Rhodes. To Charles VIII he sent the staff of the sacred lance, and the fact that his ambassador said that its genuineness could be proved by its fitting the head preserved in the Sainte-Chapelle at Paris rather disturbed the Papal Court when some years later he sent the Pope the lance-head, along with the reed and sponge of the Crucifixion. One would expect the gift of the emerald to be as well known as that of the last three relics.

In the sixteenth century we have the well-known group of medals with bust of Christ on the obverse and a Hebrew legend on the reverse, which have been copied down to the present day. In spite of the ingenuity and learning that has been devoted to the explanation of the Hebrew legend, we cannot help thinking it must be intended for a translation of the *Christus venit* legend. This seems to be confirmed by the discovery of the Henderson specimen with a correct translation. It is improbable that medallists knew anything of Hebrew, and the accidental omission of a *lamed* by one would be copied by all the others. In conclusion, Mr. Hill deals with a large number of later Christ medals, mostly German.

In the essay on the False Shekels, Mr. Hill investigates the well-known copies of Jewish shekels of flat thin fabric, with censer and 'Aaron's rod' in place of the correct ancient types. He is able to trace them back to the middle of the sixteenth century without finding their origin. He is reluctant to describe them as forgeries, and thinks they were made to gratify that passion for completeness which makes, for example, one Arab antiquary say that Adam struck dinars and dirhems because he said he could not enjoy life without money.

Mr. Hill's third essay, that on the Thirty Pieces of Silver, is the one which will be generally found the most fascinating; it should appeal to every lover of mediæval lore. It is only natural that the thirty pieces of silver should have been sought for by the pious relic-hunters of the Middle Ages, but the extraordinary development of the history of these coins, as traced by Mr. Hill from the mediæval literature of all countries, is surprising. The coins were no ordinary pieces, but had figured in all the important transactions of Biblical history from Abraham's purchase of the cave of Machpelah onwards. A curious feature of the story is that in their early history the coins are described as of gold, a fact which gave the mediæval commentators some trouble.

Mr. Hill has made a list of some thirty coins shown in the Middle Ages as specimens of the thirty pieces of silver. Of the dozen that can be identified, eight are Greek coins of Rhodes, the most celebrated specimen being preserved in the castle of Rhodes itself, first mentioned early in the fifteenth century. The existence of this specimen at a place visited by all travellers to the East readily accounts for the large number of coins of Rhodes identified as such, but how are we to account for the identification of the original piece?

We are reluctant to think that the knights of St. John decided to have such a relic to replace their lost coin of St. Helena, and took the ancient coin most easily obtainable. It seems more likely that a specimen was found in making fortifications, and it was decided that so handsome and ancient a coin could only be one of those long-sought pieces. A successful military enterprise was perhaps attributed to its discovery, and thus its sanctity was established. Ancient coins were probably rarer in the Middle Ages than now, and the tendency to take the unknown for the marvellous was even greater than now. This spirit probably accounts for the identification of the other pieces also.

J. A.





THE COINAGES OF AUGUSTUS





1 L.



2 L.



3 L.



4 L.



5 L.



6 L.



7 B.M.



8 L.



9 B.M.



10 L.



11 L.



12 B.M.





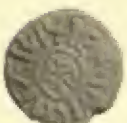
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12 B.M.



13 L.







1 B.M.



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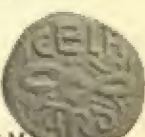
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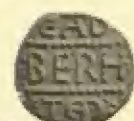
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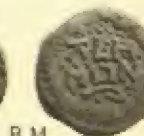
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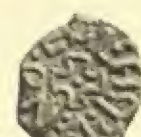
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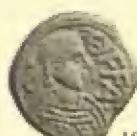
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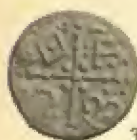




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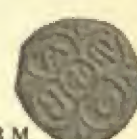
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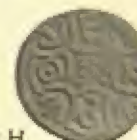
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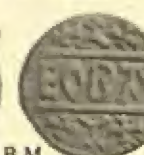
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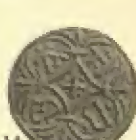
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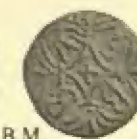
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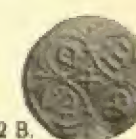
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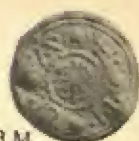


16 B.M.





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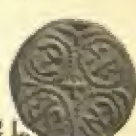
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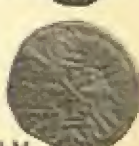
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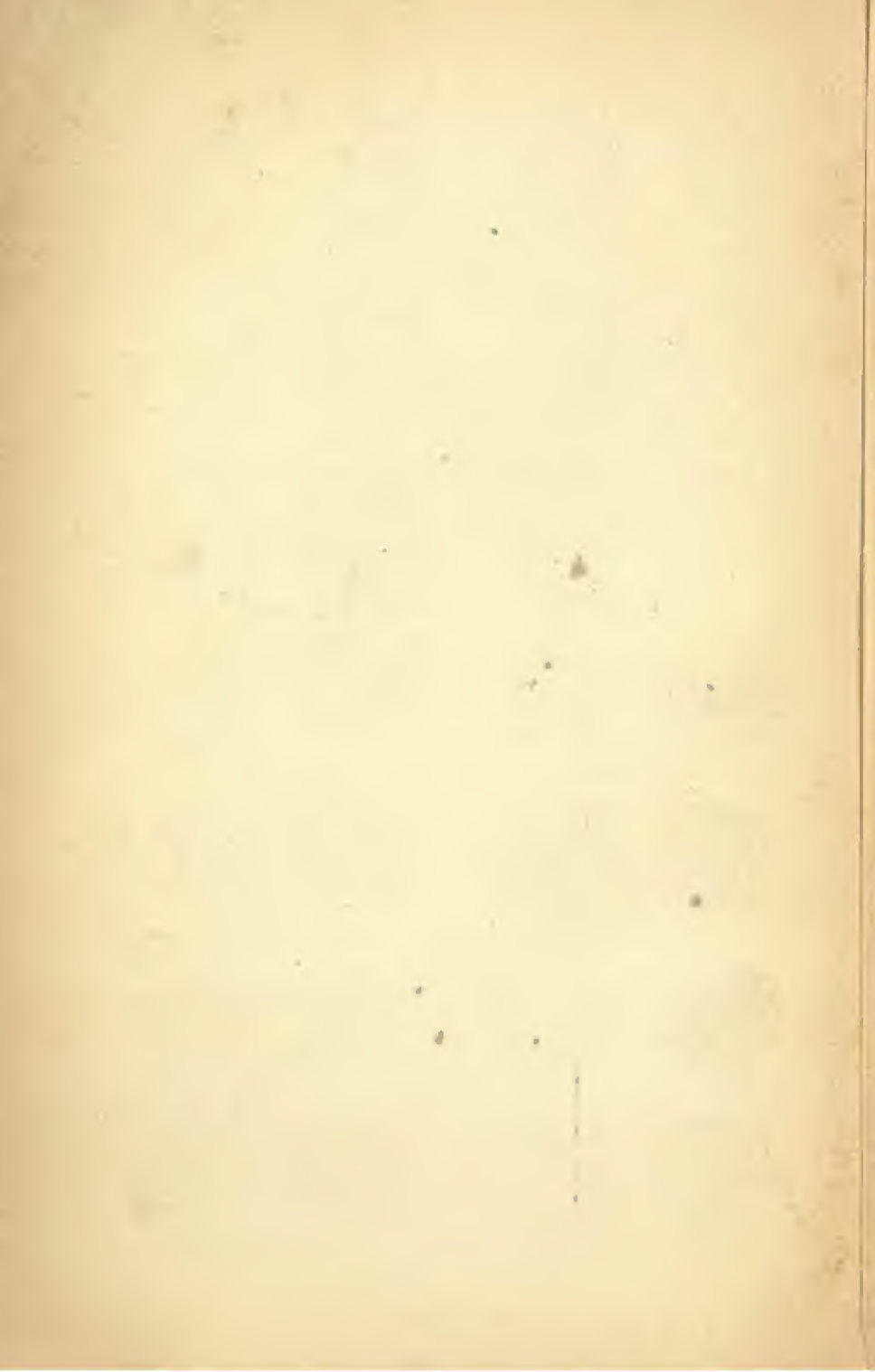


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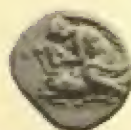
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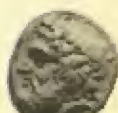
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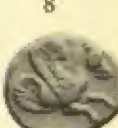
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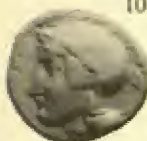
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 1895 PROFESSOR DR. THEODOR MOMMSEN, Berlin.
 1896 FREDERIC W. MADDEN, Esq., M.R.A.S.
 1897 DR. ALFRED VON SALLET, Berlin.
 1898 THE REV. CANON W. GREENWELL, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
 1899 MONSIEUR ERNEST BABELON, Membre de l'Institut, Conservateur des Médailles, Paris.
 1900 PROFESSOR STANLEY LANE-POOLE, M.A., Litt.D.
 1901 S. E. BARON WLADIMIR VON TIESSENHAUSEN, St. Petersburg.
 1902 ARTHUR J. EVANS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
 1903 MONSIEUR GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
 1904 HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY.
 1905 SIR HERMANS WEBER, M.D.
 1906 COMM. FRANCESCO GNECCHI, Milan.
 1907 BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD, Esq., D.Litt., D.C.L., Ph.D., Corr. de l'Inst.
 1908 PROFESSOR DR. HEINRICH DRESSER, Berlin.
 1909 HERBERT A. GRUEBER, Esq., F.S.A.
 1910 DR. FRIEDRICH EDLER VON KENNER, Vienna.
 1911 OLIVER CODRINGTON, Esq., M.D., M.R.A.S., F.S.A.
 1912 GENERAL-LEUTNANT MAX VON BAHRFELDT, Hildesheim.
 1913 GEORGE MACDONALD, Esq., M.A., LL.D.
 1914 JEAN N. SYKONOS, Athens.
 1915 GEORGE FRANCIS HILL, Esq., M.A.
 1916 M. THÉODORE REINACH, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
 1917 L. A. LAWRENCE, Esq., F.S.A.
 1918. Not awarded.
 1919 M. ADRIEN BLANCHET, Membre de l'Institut, Paris.
 1920 H. B. EARLE-FOX, Esq., and J. S. SHIRLEY-FOX, Esq.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1919—1920.

OCTOBER 16, 1919.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c.,
Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of May 15 were read and approved.

The following Presents received since the May Meeting were announced, laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors :

1. Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1918.
2. American Journal of Archaeology, Vol. xxiii, Nos. 1 and 2, 1919.
3. British School at Athens: Annual, No. xxii.
4. Numismatic Circular, Vol. xxvi, 1918; *from Messrs. Spink & Son.*
5. Provincial Token-Coinage of the Eighteenth Century, Pts. 3 to 14. By R. Dalton and S. H. Hamer: *from Richard Dalton, Esq.*
6. Revue Belge de Numismatique, Pts. 1 and 2, 1919.
7. Revue Numismatique, Pt. 2, 1915, Pt. 1, 1919.
8. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica, Pt. 1, 1919.

9. Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Journal, Vol. xlviii, Pt. 2.

10. Royal Irish Academy Proceedings, Vol. xxxv, Sec. C, Nos. 2-6, 10, 11.

11. Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest; Bulletin, Pt. 3, 1918.

12. Society of Antiquaries of London, Proceedings, 1917-18.

13. Smithsonian Institute. Annual Report of Museum, June, 1918.

14. A. Blanchet: Un Talisman gnostique.

Do.—Enceintes romaines des Villes françaises; *from the Author.*

15. Roman Coins found in Scotland, by G. Macdonald; *from the Author.*

16. Supplement to the Catalogue of the Provincial Cabinet of Coins, Assam. By A. W. Botham and R. Friel; *from the Government of Assam and Eastern Bengal.*

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited a penny of Barbadoes countermarked with a crown and G.R. in an octagon for circulation in Jamaica.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., read a paper on the half-pence and farthings of Henry VIII. (This paper was printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1919, pp. 265-8.)

Mr. Lawrence also read a paper by himself and Mr. Brooke on the "Martlet and Rose Half-Groats of Henry VII". (This paper was printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1919, pp. 257-64.)

Mr. H. Mattingly read a paper entitled "A. Vitellius Imp. Germanicus", in which he attempted to determine the reasons for the variations in Vitellius's obverse legends between the forms IMP. GERM. and GERM. IMP. After distinguishing clearly the classes of coins on which these titles appear, he brought evidence to show that the title IMP. GERMANICVS is characteristic of the non-Roman coins of Vitellius before the victory over Otho. It implied a definite challenge thrown out by the German armies to

the rest of the Empire, and in consequence, when Vitellius became constitutional Emperor at Rome, the title was deftly deprived of offence by inversion to **GERM. IMP.**, a normal form of title already borne by Claudius and Nero.

NOVEMBER 20, 1919.

PROFESSOR C. OMAN, M.P., LL.D., F.S.A., F.B.A., &c.,
President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of October 16 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, and thanks ordered to be sent to the donors:

1. Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, April, 1919.
2. Revue Belge de Numismatique, Pts. 3 and 4, 1919.
3. Revue Numismatique, Pt. 2, 1919.
4. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica, Pt. 3, 1919.
5. Bulletin, Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest; Pt. 1, 1919.
6. Administration Report of the Madras Government Museum, 1918-19; *from the Madras Government.*
7. Attività numismatica di Francesco Guecchi By L. Lafranchi; *from the Author.*
8. In memoria di Francesco Guecchi. By Memmo Cagiati; *from the Circolo Numismatico Napoletano.*
9. L'Hellénisme primitif de la Macédoine. By J. N. Svoronos; *from the Greek Bureau de Renseignement Étranger.*
10. Notes of the Coins believed to have been struck at Sandsfoot Castle and Weymouth in 1643-4. By H. Symonds; *from the Author.*
11. Medal of Cardinal Mercier; *from the Hommage National Committee.*

Prof. Oman exhibited an unidentified drachm of the fourth century B.C.; *obv.* head of Satrap in Parthian helmet; *rev.* lion's head in incuse square, and an unpublished third brass of Constantine I of the "Urbs Roma" type with *obv.* legend **VRBS ROMA BEATA** and mint-mark **R.Q.**

Mr. Percy H. Webb showed a very fine first brass of Tiberius (Cohen 68) and a triens of Galla Placidia, the latter found in Serbia.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., showed an unpublished third brass of Carausius, *rev.* **VBE(RTAS) PERP.** Figure of Ubertas at altar with snake.

Mr. H. Garside exhibited a Mexican two reales (Mexico City Mint) of Philip V, 1742, with a heart-shaped perforation with a plain edge, and a dentated ornamentation on the obverse and reverse, around it. This coin was counter-marked for circulation in Martinique during the British occupation, 1809-14.

There was also shown a specimen presented to the Society in bronze of the medal by Jourdain struck in honour of Cardinal Mercier: *obv.* bust l. **A S. E. LE CARDINAL MERCIER · HOMMAGE NATIONAL**; *rev.* female figure raising wounded soldier, **PATRIOTISME · ENDVRANCE.**

Mr. Harold Mattingly read a paper on "The Origins of the Imperial Coinage in Republican Times". (This paper was printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1919, pp. 221-34.)

A discussion followed in which Mr. Grueber, Sir Henry Howorth, Mr. Webb, and the Chairman took part.

DECEMBER 18, 1919.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., &c., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of November 20 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors :

1. American Journal of Archaeology, No. 3, 1919.
2. British Numismatic Journal, 1917 ; *from Miss Helen Farquhar.*
3. Journal of Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Vol. xlix, Pt. 1.
4. Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest ; Bulletin, Pt. 2, 1919.

Mr. W. H. Woodward was proposed for election as a Fellow of the Society.

Mr. Garside exhibited a set of the nickel coinage of Jamaica for 1918 with the mint-mark C for the Ottawa Mint, the first issue of these coins not struck at the Royal Mint in London.

Mr. G. F. Hill read a paper entitled "The Mint of Croisraguel Abbey", written by Dr. George Macdonald, who was unable to be present. (This paper was printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1919, pp. 269-311.)

In the discussion that followed Mr. C. R. Peers, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Grueber, Miss Farquhar, Colonel Morrieson, and Sir Henry Howorth took part.

JANUARY 15, 1920.

PROFESSOR C. OMAN, M.P., LL.D., F.S.A., &c., President,
and later SIR HENRY HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., Vice-
President in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of December 18 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:

1. *Archaic England*, by Harold Bayley; *from the Publishers.*
2. *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Vol. xvi; *from the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-on-Tyne.*
3. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. xxxix; *from the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.*
4. *Royal Charities*, Pt. ii. By Miss Helen Farquhar; *from the Author.*

Mr. W. H. Woodward was elected a Fellow of the Society. Dr. George H. Abbott and Messrs. A. C. Montagu and J. Rochelle Thomas were proposed for election.

Mr. L. G. P. Messenger exhibited the 20 and 10 cent pieces, silver, and the 1 cent 1919 bronze of the Straits Settlements, square, with rounded corners, struck at the Bombay Mint, and an Australian penny token, a mule between an Irish Wellington penny and a Tasmanian token: *obv.* bust r. WELLINGTON & ERIN GO BRACH; *rev.* Britannia seated l. AUSTRALIA

Rev. E. Rogers exhibited two tetradrachms, both with types: head of Herakles and Zeus Aetophoros, and having the same symbols (anchor and feeding horse) and monograms. One is of Alexander the Great, the other of Seleucus I. These two pieces are of Eastern fabric, and probably belong farther East than Imhoof has suggested. He also showed two Seleucid staters with Apollo and Zeus reverses; the

Apollo stater had been previously known and attributed by Dr. Macdonald to Antiochus II; the new stater with Zeus reverse now confirms this attribution. A silver tetradrachm with the same portrait, apparently unique, was also shown; a tetradrachm of Diodotos of Bactria was shown for comparison.

Mr. John Pinches exhibited specimens of Air Force Decorations struck by his firm from designs by Mr. E. Carter-Preston; these were the Distinguished Flying Cross, a silver cross with purple and white ribbon, **R A F** in monogram surrounded by wreath with crown above and wings on r. and l.; *rev.* **G R I** (cursive) 1918 in monogram; and the Air Force Cross, *obv.* Mercury on eagle r., holding wreath in r. and caduceus in l. hand; crown above, **G. V. R. I.** on extremities of cross; *rev.* as preceding: crimson and white ribbon.

The Rev. E. A. Sydenham read a paper on the "Coinages of Augustus", which was intended as a sequel to Mr. Mattingly's "Origins of the Imperial Coinage in Republican Times". (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 17-56.)

Fine selections of the coins of Augustus in illustration of the paper were shown by the President, Mr. Percy H. Webb, Mr. Sydenham, and Mr. H. P. Hall.

In the discussion which followed, Mr. Hill, Mr. Webb, Mr. Mattingly, and Sir Henry Howorth took part.

FEBRUARY 19, 1920.

PROFESSOR C. OMAN, M.P., LL.D., &c., President,
in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of January 15 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:

1. American Journal of Archaeology, xxiii. 4.
2. W. Airy: Arabic Glass Weights; *from the Author.*
3. A. Blanchet: Thurinus, surnom de l'Empereur Auguste; *from the Author.*
4. L. M. Hewlett: Anglo-Gallie Coins; *from the Author.*

Dr. G. H. Abbott and Messrs. A. C. Montagu and J. Rochelle Thomas were elected Fellows of the Society; Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler was proposed for election.

Mr. Frederick A. Harrison exhibited a bronze centenary medal of Milan Cathedral with portrait of Gian Galeazzo, and a Chinese rupee issued for Sse-Chüan with the portrait of the Emperor.

Rev. Edgar Rogers exhibited some fine Seleucid coins including tetradrachms of Seleucus I, and a selection of silver coins of Alexander Bala of Phoenician mints, viz. Tyre (years 150, 146, 145), Sidon (149, 148), and Berytus (149).

Mr. Percy H. Webb exhibited and read notes on a portion of a find of late Roman coins (A. D. 298-313) from Egypt.

Mr. G. C. Brooke read a paper by Mr. R. C. Lockett on the "Coinage of Offa". (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 57-89.)

In the discussion which followed Mr. Grueber, Mr. Hill, Mr. Parsons, and Sir Henry Howorth took part.

MARCH 18, 1920.

PROFESSOR C. OMAN, M.P., LL.D., &c., President,
in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of February 19 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to the donors :

1. Bonner Jahrbücher, Heft 125, and Beitrag 3 to Heft 125.
2. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Vol. liii.
3. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica, Pt. 4, 1919.
4. Revue Numismatique, Pts. 3 and 4, 1919.
5. The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems. By J. D. Beazley.
6. The Silver Coinage of Crete. By G. Macdonald ; *from the Author.*

Mr. Ernest H. Wheeler was elected a Fellow of the Society, and Commander H. Newall Watson, R.N., was proposed for election.

The President exhibited seven tetradrachms of Antiochus the Great illustrating his portrait at different periods of the reign and at different mints.

Col. the Hon. Milo G. Talbot exhibited a silver quinarius of Galba, *rev.* **CONCORDIA AVG.**

Mr. G. C. Haines exhibited a 20-nummi piece of Anastasius I, a variety of B. M. Cat. No. 49.

Mr. Henry Garside showed the gold fifteen-rupee piece of 1918 struck at Bombay for circulation in British India.

Mr. Leopold Messenger showed specimens of the 1919 nickel coinage for India, 8 annas (round), 4 annas (octagonal

with scalloped edges), and 2 annas (square with rounded corners).

Mr. G. F. Hill showed a clever forgery of a silver penny of Eadwald, king of East Anglia, *rev.* Wihfred (Ruding, iv. 2).

Mr. Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A., showed a second brass of Lucius Verus; *obv.* IMP CAES L AVREL VERVS, bare head r.; *rev.* Salus seated to l. feeding serpent TR POT II COS II (no S. C.), and a small medallion of M. Aurelius, *obv.* head l. M. ANTONINVS ARM PARTH, &c., *rev.* Fortuna seated (no S. C.) PM TRP XXII IMP III COS III.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., read a note on the Amphill Find of early Henry II pennies. (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Chronicle*, pp. 166-74.)

Mr. G. F. Hill, F.B.A., gave an account of his investigation of a story that a specimen of the gold mancus of Offa had been found near Orwell in Cambridgeshire forty years ago. If the coin was really a specimen of the Arab dinar copied by Offa, he had been unable to trace it, but was able to show that it was not the specimen now in the British Museum. The latter could now be definitely stated to be the specimen acquired in Rome by the Duc de Blacas, and had been in the possession of the Longpérier family, from whom it was acquired in 1906 and again brought to light by a Paris firm, from whom it was acquired by Mr. Carlyon-Britton. [Mr. Hill has since seen an electrotypes of the coin found at Orwell; it was a silver penny of Aethilheard and Offa.]

APRIL 15, 1920.

PERCY H. WEBB, Esq., M.B.E., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Meeting of March 18 were read and approved.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:

1. La Monetazione di Augusto. By L. Laffranchi; *from the Author*.

2. Journal international d'Archéologie numismatique, 1916, 1917, 1918.

Commander Harold N. Watson was elected a Fellow of the Society, and Messrs. H. M. Last and Michael Holroyd and Mons. G. Empedocles were proposed for election.

Mr. Henry Garside exhibited specimens of the nickel 20 cent and bronze 10 and 1 cent pieces of A.D. 1908 of Sultan Ali bin Hamud of Zanzibar.

Mr. Harold Mattingly exhibited a series of billon coins of Claudius Gothicus lent by Mr. F. W. Lincoln, to illustrate the five mints of Rome, Ticinum, Siscia, Cyzicus, and Antioch.

Mr. Percy H. Webb showed a second brass of Claudius Gothicus. *Obv.* IMP C. CLAVDIVS AVG; *rev.* MARS VLTOR. Mars advancing to r.

Mr. L. G. P. Messenger exhibited a contorniate. *Obv.* Bust r. DIVO TRAIANO AVGVSTO; *rev.* plain.

Mr. G. F. Hill gave an account of a find of Anglo-Saxon coins at Chester in 1914. (This paper is printed in this volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, pp. 141-65.)

Mr. Harold Mattingly read a paper on the "Mints of Claudius Gothicus" in which he gave an account of Markl's distribution of the coins of this Emperor to the five mints of Rome, Ticinum, Siscia, Cyzicus, and Antioch. He sup-

ported the attribution of the T coins to Ticinum rather than Tarraco, but would assign Markl's Serdica group to Cyzicus, as they could not be separated in style from the coins certainly of this mint.

MAY 20, 1920.

PROFESSOR SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., LL.D.,
President, in the Chair.

Messrs. W. Butcher, Michael Holroyd, H. M. Last, and Mons. G. Empedocles were elected Fellows of the Society. Messrs. A. Pearl Cross, Carl Edwards, C. S. Gifford, Richard Heming, A. M. T. Woodward, R. Lloyd Woolcombe, and Arthur C. Wyman were proposed for election.

Messrs. Leopold Messenger and William Gilbert were appointed to audit the Society's accounts.

The following Presents to the Society were announced, laid upon the table, and thanks ordered to be sent to their donors:

1. Académie royale de Belgique, *Annuaire*, 1920, *Bulletin*, 1919, Nos. 7 and 8.
2. *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. xxiv, No. 1.
3. *Annual Report of the Deputy Master of the Mint for 1917*.
4. *Journal of Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Vol. xlix, Pt. 2.
5. *Numismatic Circular*, Vol. xxvii; *from Messrs. Spink & Sons*.
6. *Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*; *Bulletin*, 1919.
7. E. G. Courteau: *The Copper Tokens of the Bank of Montreal*; *from the Author*.
8. Rev. E. A. Sydenham: *The Coinage of Nero*; *from Messrs. Spink & Sons*.
9. W. Theobald: *Notes on Early Coinage in NW. India*; *Notes on Symbols of Coins of Kunanda*; *Notes on Symbols on punch-marked coins of Hindustan*; *from Mrs. Theobald*.

Miss Helen Farquhar exhibited a silver medal of James I, of which only one other specimen, that in the Hunter Collection (*Medallie Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 197, note 171), is known; the specimen exhibited differs from this one in having the full year date 1604 without month or day, in having more detail in the armour, and in having a contemporary silver frame of twisted ropework. Miss Farquhar's specimen closely resembles that illustrated by Van Loon, vol. ii, p. 2, and by Perry, pl. viii, of which no specimens were hitherto known.

Miss Farquhar also showed a silver counter in the style of *Passe* of Elizabeth, daughter of James I, and her husband Frederick, Count Palatine—afterwards King of Bohemia—probably engraved on their marriage, 1612.

Obv.—Bust r. **FRIDERICVS D. G. COMES PALATINVS RHENI ELECTOR**

Rev.—Bust. r. **ELIZABETHA D. G. COMITISSA PALATINA RHENI**

No other specimens have so far been noted.

Mr. Bert A. Seaby exhibited three silver pennies of Charles II with very blundered legends.

The President exhibited two aurei, ten denarii, and two quinarii of Nero to illustrate his portraiture on the silver and gold.

Mr. F. A. Walters, F.S.A., showed a remarkably fine series of bronze coins of Nero, comprising 24 sestertii, 22 dupondii and asses, and 19 smaller brass coins.

Mr. Percy H. Webb showed a very fine selection of bronze coins of Nero.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A., showed a fine dupondius of Nero with laureate head; *rev.* temple of Janus, of the mint of Rome.

Mr. W. Lisle Savage showed a threepenny token of the Rathmines Association, 1849, and another of Hogarth

Erichsen & Co., 1858, and a $\frac{1}{12}$ anna pattern of the E. I. C., 1835.

The Rev. E. A. Sydenham read a paper on the bronze coinage of Nero. The main object of the paper was to consider the question of the mintage of Nero's bronze coins, i. e. (1) to show that Nero's bronze coins were struck at two mints—Rome and Lugdunum; (2) to consider the status of the latter and its relation to the metropolitan mint; (3) to tabulate, according to *obv.* legends and styles of portraiture, the coins that may be assigned to the two mints respectively.

(a) The evidence for the existence and operation of the Lugdunum mint from A. D. 22 to 68 was given at length.

(b) The criteria for determining the mintage of Nero's coins are (1) style of portrait, (2) fabric, (3) style of lettering, (4) form of obverse legend. The four criteria were considered in detail. The most important, and at the same time the most complex, are (1) and (4). The seventeen styles of portrait were illustrated and the forms of legend tabulated. Certain important deductions were made from the foregoing, e. g. as to the dating of the coins, and changes in the working of the mints. (c) In a few cases the styles of the two mints appear to overlap. Explanations of this were suggested and considered.

It was hoped that the differentiation between the products of the mints of Rome and Lugdunum outlined in this article would lead to a more scientific classification of Nero's coins than has hitherto been attempted. (This paper will be printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.)

JUNE 17, 1920.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

PROFESSOR SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., LL.D., &c.,
President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of June 19, 1919, were read and approved.

Messrs. Leopold Messenger and William Gilbert were appointed scrutineers of the Ballot for the election of office-bearers for the following year.

Messrs. A. Pearl Cross, Carl Edwards, C. S. Gifford, Richard Heming, A. M. T. Woodward, R. Lloyd Woolcombe, and Arthur C. Wyman were elected Fellows of the Society. Messrs. John Campbell Lewis and K. D. Stewart were proposed for election.

The following Report of the Council was laid before the Society:

"The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report on the state of the Royal Numismatic Society.

It is with deep regret that they have to announce the deaths of the following two honorary Fellows of the Society:

Dr. F. Imhoof-Blumer,
Commendatore Francesco Gnecchi,

and of the following nine ordinary Fellows of the Society:

H. B. Earle Fox, Esq.
F. W. Hasluck, Esq., M.A.
Prof. F. J. Haverfield, LL.D., D.Litt., F.S.A.

Lt.-Col. Henry Leslie-Ellis, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.
 Henry C. Miller, Esq.
 Lord Peckover, LL.D., F.S.A.
 R. Prasada, Esq.
 Lt.-Col. Sir Henry Trotter, K.C.M.G., C.B.
 W. J. Webster, Esq.

They have also to announce the resignations of the following five Fellows :

The Rt. Hon. Sir William Ellison Macartney, P.C.,
 K.C.M.G., &c.
 C. E. S. Palmer, Esq.
 F. W. Voysey Peterson, Esq., B.C.S. (retired).
 Sir Herbert Thompson, Bart.
 Lt.-Col. William Vost, I.M.S. (retired).

On the other hand, they have to announce the election of the following seventeen new Fellows :

George Henry Abbott, Esq., B.A., M.B., C.M.
 W. Butcher, Esq.
 A. Pearl Cross, Esq.
 Carl Edwards, Esq.
 Mons. G. Empedocles.
 C. S. Gifford, Esq.
 Richard Heming, Esq.
 Michael Holroyd, Esq.
 H. M. Last, Esq.
 Alfred C. Montagu, Esq.
 J. Rochelle Thomas, Esq.
 Commander H. Newall Watson, R.N.
 Ernest H. Wheeler, Esq.
 A. M. Tracey. Woodward, Esq., F.R.G.S.
 W. H. Woodward, Esq.
 R. Lloyd Woolcombe, Esq., M.A., LL.D., F.R.C.I.,
 F.R.G.S., F.R.S.A., &c
 Arthur C. Wyman, Esq.

The number of Fellows is therefore :

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1919	282	16	298
Since elected	17	—	17
	299	16	315
Deceased	9	2	11
Resigned	5	—	5
	285	14	299

The Council have also to announce that they have decided to award the Society's Medal this year to Mr. J. S. Shirley-Fox and his brother the late Mr. H. B. Earle Fox in recognition of their joint work on English numismatics, notably the Edward I and II series and the latter's work on Greek numismatics."

The Honorary Treasurer's Report, which follows, was then laid before the Meeting :

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSE-

FROM JUNE 1ST, 1919,

Dr.

THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>To cost of Chronicle—</i>						
Printing	312	0	11			
Plates.	34	14	8			
				346	15	7
„ <i>Lantern Expenses.</i>				2	2	6
„ <i>Books.</i>					15	0
* „ <i>Rent, &c.</i>				63	0	0
„ <i>Removal Expenses</i>				90	9	8
„ <i>Sundry Payments</i>				11	4	4
				£514	7	1
„ <i>Balance—</i>						
General Account	88	16	2			
Research Account	25	8	2			
				114	4	4
				£628	11	5

MENTS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

TO MAY 31st, 1920.

WITH PERCY H. WEBB, HON. TREASURER.

£s.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
<i>By Balance in hand—</i>						
General Account	186	14	10			
Research Account	24	2	2			
				210	17	0
<i>By Subscriptions—</i>						
192 Ordinary Subscriptions (less loss on foreign cheques, &c.)	201	11	11			
10 Entrance Fees	10	10	0			
3 Life Subscriptions	47	5	0			
6 Additional Subscriptions	9	19	6			
				269	6	5
<i>By Sales of Chronicles—</i>						
Bernard Quaritch				28	10	0
<i>„ Dividends on Investments—</i>						
London and North Western Railway Dividends on £942 Consolidated Stock				26	7	6
<i>„ Donations to Removal Fund</i>				93	10	6
				£628	11	5

Audited and found correct,

LEOPOLD G. P. MESSENGER, }
WILLIAM GILBERT, } *Hon. Auditors.*

June 14, 1920.

The Reports of the Council and of the Treasurer were adopted on the motion of the President.

Sir Charles Oman then presented the Society's Medal to Mr. J. S. Shirley-Fox and addressed him as follows :

In the name of the Society I have the greatest pleasure in presenting to you its silver medal, given as in previous years in acknowledgement of high services to the cause of Numismatic knowledge. The services which this award recognizes are not only your own, but those of your brother, Mr. H. B. Earle Fox, for some twenty years one of our members and a frequent contributor to our *Chronicle*. It is to our deep regret that your recent bereavement prevents us from linking together formally in our records your name and his, in this recognition of work that was done in common, in a fashion all the more laudable because it is not too frequent. I am alluding, of course, to the epoch-making set of papers which you joined in contributing to the *British Numismatic Journal*, on the penny-coinage of the first three Edwards. It is no exaggeration to say that this solid contribution to Numismatic knowledge has given the world the solution of a puzzle which has vexed many generations of collectors. All previous arrangements of this long series of small silver coins were tentative, because they were not based upon the faithful and minute study of the coins themselves, as well as upon a patient search through all the available contemporary records. For the knowledge of the archaeologist and collector, who pieces together theories from cataloguing innumerable coins, without searching the stores of the Record Office, is as incomplete as that of the student of rolls and warrants, who has not supplemented his reading with minute comparison of the existing coins one with another. Too often the collector has not been a competent researcher, nor the researcher a patient and intelligent collector. You and your much-lamented brother, combining the two lines of activity, have produced a monumental and, I think, a final rearrangement of the interminable series of Edward pennies, whose general

similarity but minute individual differences have been, since the days of Ruding, the despair of those collectors of early English coins who were desirous of setting forth their possessions in a logical and orderly sequence. Easy generalizations that the series might be distributed according to the number of letters in the king's name, or the quantity of drapery about his neck, were always being upset by the turning up of coins with exceptional inscriptions or of an abnormal style of art. There is no royal way to knowledge by means of brilliant generalization: it must be sought by patient research and comparisons. Thanks to the efforts of two brothers who combined knowledge and patience, the classification of the sequence of Edwardian pennies is now settled for ever and a day, and those who collect them may distribute them with confidence into the fifteen established categories. What is more surprising is that we shall now be able to date each of the classes quite or almost to its exact year, with the dividing mark in the middle *circa* A. D. 1300, between the series with the king's crown with trefoil ends and that with fleur-de-lis ends. The classification incidentally profits students of foreign sterling, for in the Low Countries and Northern France each count or lord who issued his colourable imitations of English pence was quick to follow every change in appearance that took place on the originals.

Your work has also furnished us with much information as to the status and working of the ecclesiastical mints of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of Durham, and the Abbot of St. Edmundsbury. The fresh information from Durham Records does away for good with the idea that there was ever a royal mint at Durham, and shows that the non-episcopal coins there are merely those of the normal mint, during periods when the see was vacant, or when (as in the time of Antony Bek) the prince-bishop and his sovereign were at odds, and the sequestered mint was in the hands of a royal receiver.

I should not omit to add that we have by your researches into records new light thrown upon the Edwardian coins

outside the penny series: the beautiful but extremely scarce groats, as well as the half-pennies and the farthings. Most of these can now be classified and dated from documentary evidence, as well as from comparison with the penny series.

You are yourself, unlike your lamented brother, a new-comer among our ranks, having been elected, I think, in 1913, just before the War. The greatest proof that I can give of our gratitude is (as the proverb says) to ask for favours to come. May I trust that in future years some more crumbs from the table of your numismatic banquet may be spared for the benefit of the elder Society, of which we are so happy to count you a member. The *précis* of your classification of Edwardian pennies, which we printed in 1917 may, I hope, be the forerunner of many other contributions to a periodical which has always striven to keep up a lively interest in British coins, if it does not devote itself exclusively to their study.

In reply Mr. J. S. Shirley-Fox said:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—The President has just presented me with the highest award it is possible for a numismatist to receive. I am deeply grateful to him for all he has said with regard to the work of my brother, Mr. Earle Fox, and myself, and also for his sympathetic reference to my bereavement. I will not conceal the fact that I had hoped some day to come here and see my brother, whose all-round knowledge as a numismatist was known to most of you, receive the Society's Medal. That I should myself be called upon to share the honour just conferred upon us had never occurred to me. Needless to say, I am very pleased and proud to be associated with it. The President has expressed a hope that the loss of my brother may not interfere with the continuance of the work which we had intended to carry on together. I may say in this connexion that Mr. L. A. Lawrence has agreed to collaborate with me in describing the coinage of Edward III from 1351 to 1377. I also hope some day to deal with the issues of Berwick, and, if possible, throw more light upon these

rather puzzling pieces. In conclusion, I must express to the Council my grateful thanks for having awarded the Medal to my brother and myself, and to those present this evening for the kind manner in which they have expressed their approval.

The President then delivered the following Address :

THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

In accordance with the laudable practice of this royal and ancient Society, its President must make his best endeavour to sum up for you the numismatic history of the past year. It is with some diffidence that the present occupant of the chair comes before you with his annual chronicle—the unworthy successor of many excellent and luminous discourses delivered by the three great predecessors whom he can remember—Sir John Evans, who occupied the presidential office from 1874 to 1908 (a golden reign of thirty-four years!); Sir Henry Howorth, who bore rule over us from 1908 to 1914; and Sir Arthur Evans, who from June 1914 to June 1919 saw out the whole length of the Great War, and took care that the lamp of numismatic study was not extinguished, like the nightly lamps of London, by the stress of the hard times through which the Society (and the Empire) had to pass. I cannot vie with the omniscience of the first of these leaders of men, nor with the fluent and suggestive eloquence of the second, nor with the exact science and sustained enthusiasm of the third. You must bear with the more pedestrian periods of a commonplace historian, who happens to be (among other things) a very old collector of Roman and Greek coins. He must plead in extenuation of his deficiencies that he joined the Society at the earliest possible opportunity, in 1882, the moment that he came of age, so that he is at least one of the senior members of our association—indeed, out of the 300 names now on our roll, only sixteen were entered at an earlier date. Thirty-eight bound volumes of the *Numismatic Chronicle* on his shelves testify that he has been a regular

worshipper at the shrine of the *Tres Monetae* who adorn our great seal. Those volumes are at present rather a pathetic spectacle: one notes the gradual growth in bulk of the individual annual volume from about 350 pages in 1882—a slim number—with the ever-growing increase to about 500 in the days before the war. Then comes from 1915 onward a rapid shrinkage down to 274 in 1918—our hardest year. In 1919 there was a slight reaction—the annual volume rose to 320 pages; may those which follow gradually mount up again to the standard of pre-war plumpness, even though post-war prices make them a more costly joy than their ancestors. Their quality (I think) has never declined; it is only their bulk that diminished, and this is one of the most cheering facts in the history of the Society. Some of the very best papers that I can remember were contributed during the war; probably there were many members who felt (like myself) that an excursion of an hour or two into the paradise of numismatics was the best corrective against the spiritual stress that encompassed us about during those trying years.

The obituary list of honorary and ordinary members of the Society for 1919–20 has already been read to you by the Secretary. Some of the names in it seem to call for a special tribute of respect from your President. We have lost perhaps the most distinguished of all our foreign honorary fellows in Dr. F. Imhoof-Blumer and Commendatore Francesco Gnecci. The Swiss savant, a very father of numismatists, was of a type more common on this side of the Channel perhaps than abroad—a very great collector who was at the same time a learned researcher—essentially not an official or teacher by profession, but a business man of wealth, who was at the same time an historical specialist in numismatics. Commendatore Gnecci was also a notable figure, a very fluent and always an interesting writer, whose numerous publications ever maintained a high level of merit. His large work on Roman Medallions remains the standard authority on that monumental series. Among English members deceased, I must speak with the deepest

personal feeling concerning the loss of my old schoolfellow, friend, and colleague in professorial work at Oxford, Francis Haverfield, the acknowledged master of all the archaeology of Roman Britain, a man who leaves no successor behind him. Haverfield took to coins late, and was never a collector, but in his excavations on the Roman Wall he learnt that the one sort of find which gave absolutely certain dating was a find of coins. Convinced of this by experience, he joined the Society in 1902, and was not only a regular student of its proceedings, but went through all their back-numbers to the very beginning, in order to collect and classify the recorded hoards of the Roman period. I know that in all his later work on Roman Britain he was using his numismatic knowledge to the best effect. The last memory almost that I have of him was of his gazing at and admiring the gold Carausius in the collection of Mrs. Wilfred Cripps at Cirencester, only a few days before his death. He was lecturing to the Gloucestershire Archaeological Society that night on Roman Corinium, and emitted his opinion that probably the C mint-mark on the coins of Carausius and Allectus meant Cirencester, and not Colchester, because Corinium was much the larger and more wealthy town, while Camulodunum was so close to the undoubted mint of Londinium that it seemed superfluous as a centre of coin-issuing. Mr. Earle Fox, in whose posthumous honour our medal has just been partly given, I did not know personally, though I was well acquainted with his excellent papers in back numbers of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, nor did I ever meet Lord Peckover, who was a notable collector in the intervals of his banking work. Colonel Leslie Ellis, an old member in standing, accumulated a very fine series of English gold coins. Sir Henry Trotter specialized in Oriental issues. But neither of them was a frequent visitor to our monthly meetings, or a contributor to our *Chronicle*. A more familiar face, I expect, to most of us was that of Mr. W. J. Webster, whose cheerful and knowledgeable conversation many of us enjoyed when we were on a visit to a certain corner of Piccadilly.

It is not only for deaths that this is a black year. I must give the first term of my presidency an evil name for being the period in which, for the first time since the reign of Henry VIII, our silver coinage has suffered a lamentable depreciation in purity. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, over-excited by the sudden rise in the value of silver during the last winter, which had actually reached the exaggerated price of 88 pence per oz., declared his intention of reducing the percentage of pure metal in all our silver coins from 92 per cent. pure to 50 per cent. He was implored to take the more cautious policy of suspending coinage for a few months, till the crisis should have passed over. Your President made a desperate appeal to him in the debate on the Currency Bill, using every argument, historical, moral, and economic, but to no effect. The re-coinage was ordered and has, I believe, already begun—though as the types and size (though not the weight) of the old coins have been preserved unaltered, it is difficult to detect the change. It was wholly unnecessary, as during the last three weeks the price of silver bullion has fallen as rapidly as it rose, and stands now at no more than 50 or even 44 pence per ounce. This price for raw silver allows a handsome profit or "seigniorage" on the coinage of pieces at the old purity, so that the plea that a continuance of the old rate would be ruinous to the state, and lead to a general melting down of the currency, has been proved entirely unfounded. Meanwhile we have lost the old and proud boast that the quality of our silver coins had remained unaltered, since Queen Elizabeth redeemed and abolished the base groats and testoons of her father and brother. A suspension of coinage for six months would have answered every purpose. All numismatists, and I may add all lovers of an honest currency, must regret this ill-advised measure. I am bound to say that it is but the continuance of a perverse and unsympathetic policy at the Mint, which never considers the moral any more than it considers the artistic merit of its issues. It is on a par with the refusal of the Chancellor to listen to our Society's plea for a distinctive peace-issue to

commemorate the victorious end of the Great War, and with the issue of a most hideous set of military medals and decorations for the Army and Navy. For the last fifty years—since the beautiful Wyon types were discontinued—all the efforts of our Mint have been such as to grieve numismatists with a care for Art. Starting from the horrid Jubilee coinage of 1887 (the worst of all the series) the ruling powers have continued to present us with a most unsatisfactory succession of coins and medals.

It is perhaps a trifle better to have a silver coinage only 50 per cent. pure, than to fall back on the easy but ruinous policy of issuing paper money of small denomination, as a substitute for metallic currency. I am sorry to note that during the last few weeks even France, where silver was freely circulating as late as last autumn, has issued one-franc notes. Nearly every other European country had already done the same, and one has to go to Spain, the East, or to America to find a fractional currency in pure metal still circulating. This is not, of course, the *reason* why the marks, francs, lire, dinars, roubles, or piastres of other countries are at such a ruinous valuation compared with the English pound—which is itself only a paper “promise to pay” on the part of the state. But the system is a bad one, because the ease and cheapness of the emission of paper money is a strong temptation to every government to pay debts by the use of the printing press, and so to inflate the currency of the state, and drive up all prices. The way back to honest money will be a hard and difficult one, I fear.

Meanwhile it looks as if collectors of modern coins would have to transform themselves into collectors of bank-notes. We have exhibited a typical collection of them at the War Museum of late. Some are merely mean and ugly, others quaint, a few (all German) deliberately and inappropriately humorous, others are propagandist, but some few really of artistic and meritorious design. Both in France and in Germany there have been issues of late which are a real pleasure to the eye, if others have been the very reverse.

But I pray that we may be long preserved in Great Britain from any such currency—of which even the best specimens soon get repulsively dirty and tattered after a few months of circulation among holders of varying degrees of cleanliness.

In earlier wars there used nearly always to be an outcrop of metallic "money of necessity", obsidional pieces of besieged towns, or roughly struck issues of provisional governments. In this war less currency of this kind has appeared than might have been expected, mainly because the printing press has been called in, and not the more tedious machinery of the die-cutter and engraver. I have discovered, however, a certain amount of metallic "money of necessity"—the roughest and most interesting is that issued by General Lettow-Vorbeck in German East Africa, consisting of a great quantity of large 20-heller and small 5-heller pieces in brass, and of a few gold 15-rupee pieces of the size of a sovereign. These last, which have the type of a combatant elephant, and some pretensions to neat engraving, are likely to be very rare. Germany issued a quantity of iron and white metal subsidiary pieces for Belgium and Poland, to replace the nickel coins current before, which were confiscated wholesale and used for munitions. The former, for 5 and 10 centimes, follow the old Belgian national type, save that the inscription reads **BELGIEN** instead of **ROYAUME DE BELGIQUE**. The Eastern issue, in pieces of one and three kopeks, has only a large figure of value on one side, and a German Iron Cross type on the other. The Berlin mint made one emission of silver money during the war—this was a commemorative or propagandist two-mark piece, bearing on its obverse the emperor on horseback making an appeal to soldiers and civilians—rather on the style of an old Roman **ALLO-CVTIO AVGVSTI** first brass—with, on the reverse, the imperial eagle tearing to pieces the snake of the Entente, a device borrowed from the ancient Greek coins of Elis or Chalcis, as I should imagine. Only a few of these two-mark pieces were issued, as silver was already very hard to obtain in 1915.

If state issues of metallic "money of necessity" were rare during the war, there was on the other hand a much larger output of municipal issues for local use, both in France and in Germany. I have not seen any from Austria, Russia, Italy, or the Balkans, where all the war currency was in paper. Many of the base metal coins of French and German municipalities are quite tidy and well-struck issues, generally with the civic coat of arms on one side, and the value on the other. A few of them in both countries are of a square shape, to distinguish them easily from the regular state currency. The values seem always to be under 1 franc or 1 mark, and 5 or 10 centime or pfennig pieces are commoner than 50-centime or 50-pfennig pieces. Few are in brass or copper, though it is not unknown, nearly all in white metal of various sorts—nickel was always too dear. The only high-value piece that I have seen is a gilt-brass 5-franc piece, for Ghent in German occupation. A few French towns—Tarbes and Pau occur to me as examples—took a line not unknown in earlier wars, that of collecting old, worn, or foreign coins of various denominations, and overstriking them with a rough counter-mark showing the name of the town and the value put upon the re-struck piece. The specimens that I have noted were re-strikes on Spanish, Italian, and obsolete French half-pence. I do not know whether I should catalogue as paper money a few pieces which are thick cardboard of a round shape, imitating the size and types of current copper coins—such as were issued by the municipalities of Lille and Valenciennes during the German occupation. They look at the first sight like coins, from their shape and size, but I suppose that the definition of "coin" presupposes metal. The same question is raised by a piece of a different material yet—earthenware or porcelain. This is a one-kroner piece struck for the use of prisoners in the Austrian camp of Landsberg. It is the only thing of the kind that I have seen—most prison-camp money being of base white metal, occasionally in Germany of iron. It might, of course, be maintained that the prison-camp pieces are rather tickets

or tokens than real money. But as they were issued by state authority and were of the general appearance of coins, and circulated as currency, though within a limited area and among a limited class of persons, I should be inclined to think that no cabinet to which they were presented would be entitled to catalogue them as anything but coins. All those that I have seen, both British, French, and German, are unattractive objects, with no type upon them save the value on one side, and a designation of their locality and object, in most cases, upon the other. Whatever their historical interest, they have no artistic value—in which they contrast strongly with much of the municipal war-money, which is often neat and sometimes meritorious in design and types.

It has been usual for your Presidents in past years to take the opportunity in their annual address of making a few remarks on the various papers which have been contributed to the *Numismatic Chronicle* during the last twelve months. As I have already observed, I think that our venerable organ has suffered in bulk only and not in quality during the last five years, and has more than maintained its reputation for putting new and valuable material at the disposition of those of our members whom residence in far-off regions, or urgent personal business, keeps absent from our monthly gatherings. Till the war began I was myself, perforce, a very infrequent attendant at these pleasant and profitable meetings. Since half of my activities were transferred first to Whitehall and then to Westminster, I have learned to value them as they deserve. During the war they were the most helpful relaxation that I was able to enjoy in the all-too-absorbing routine of official service. But putting meetings aside, I am sure that the *Numismatic Chronicle* by itself well repays the country member or the member overseas for our modest subscription.

In the session that has lasted from October 1919 to June 1920, the *Chronicle* has, as usual, endeavoured to cater for the tastes of all of our members. I trust that I shall not be offending the susceptibilities of any devoted admirer of

Greek or of modern coins, if I say that this session the Romans have the advantage over us. It seems to me that during the last few years there has been more of really valuable and lasting work done for the Society in the working out of the difficulties of the Roman imperial coinage than in any other line of inquiry. This session we have been specially favoured in securing two papers from the Rev. E. A. Sydenham, two from Mr. Mattingly, and two from Mr. Percy Webb, all of the highest historical interest. The attention of both of the first-named contributors has been mainly drawn to the difficult period in the Roman coinage when the Republic was passing, first through the dictatorship of Julius Caesar, and then through the triumvirate of Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus, into the definite if carefully veiled imperial system that came into existence after the battle of Actium. I am bound to confess that after a careful study of the papers of our two admirable specialists, I am being more and more converted to their views, and have to surrender many old traditions. They have made havoc even with the arrangements of the formidable Mommsen, whose views for a whole generation no one dared to question. There is hardly a class of the last republican and early Augustan coins whose date we have not to shift, more or less, under the stress of their logic. And, what is more surprising, they have shown the strongest arguments for believing that a great class of the silver and gold coinage of Augustus as emperor, which used to be ascribed to the Roman mint, was really produced from provincial mints, especially from the great imperial mint of Lugdunum, of whose existence we already knew, but whose supreme importance was hitherto not properly recognized. It would actually appear that Augustus carried his solemn farce of pretending to resign all his exceptional powers in Rome and Italy so far, in the way of coinage, that he purported to issue no imperial gold and silver in the capital, where the senate was theoretically supreme, but developed enormous minting establishments in Gaul and Asia Minor, which all through his later years supplied the

whole of the circulating medium in the more precious metals. For the Roman silver coinage of Augustus we are left only some exceptional pieces of his triumviral days, and the issues of so-called "moneyers of Augustus", the annual colleges who issued denarii sometimes with and sometimes without his portrait, but generally on old republican lines, during a period which (under the guidance of our two learned members) we must shift by a few years from the hitherto-accepted dates of Mommsen. To sum things up in Mr. Mattingly's words, "the Roman imperial coinage is not the direct successor of the old senatorial coinage of Rome". I think that Messrs. Sydenham and Mattingly have proved their thesis: the last survival of the republican coinage is the last issue of the "moneyers of Augustus" in *circa* 18 B.C. After that date the imperial coinage, issuing from the great provincial mints in Gaul and Asia Minor, supplied the whole circulating medium—alike in senatorial provinces and in those which were officially under the direct rule of Augustus.

It is my most cherished desire, as President of this Society, that the numerous and valuable papers of our two authors may some day be recast into a single volume, which may serve as a handbook to the history of the Roman coinage. Some of us, like Mr. Percy Webb (who gave us this year two lucid papers on the monetary reforms of the Emperor Aurelian, and on a late Roman find in Egypt) and myself, would be only too happy to collaborate. It would be an immense advantage to the Society as a unit if we could manage to compile between us a guide which would give the collector of historical tastes a general conspectus of the Roman coinage from first to last. No such volume exists at present; if the Society could produce one, entirely compiled by its own members, we should indeed achieve a proud record among learned academies. I never remember a time when the idea would have seemed feasible before, but it is certainly a possibility to-day.

Greek coins have not been neglected this session, though they have not taken up so much of our printed space as

usual. But I may cite the paper on the coins of Sinope—rather a neglected city hitherto—contributed by Mr. Stanley Robinson, which, starting with the analysis of a recently discovered hoard, gives us a useful conspectus of what is known of the issues of a state which began coining early, and had many political vicissitudes before it finally fell into the hands of King Mithradates. A paper of my own on the iconography and monetary activities of Antiochus IX (Cyzicenus) goes to add to the bulk of our discoveries on the Seleucid coinage, to which I can only regret that my friend Rev. Edgar Rogers has not added this session one of his frequent and always interesting monographs. Perhaps we shall hammer out between us some day a satisfactory rearrangement even of those very puzzling things, the tetradrachms of the early Antiochi.

Turning to British numismatics, I think that undoubtedly the most valuable paper that we have printed this year is the one in which Mr. George Macdonald has given us complete proof—with exhibition of the *corpus delicti*—of the existence of an autonomous Abbey coinage in Scotland. This is a most surprising fact; a few of these pieces struck by the abbots of Croisraguel had indeed been noted by numismatists, but (incredible as it may seem) that had been attributed to some King James of Aragon, no one having suspected that the Jacobus named on these small base-metal coins was no foreigner, but our old friend James III of Scotland. It was a lucky chance of excavation, the discovery among the ruins of Croisraguel in 1919 of a large number of these little pieces—fifty-one pence and over eighty farthings, mixed with a few Scottish coins of the earlier Jameses and a quantity of miscellaneous brass scraps and fragments—that gave this new class to the British coinage. They differ entirely in character from the ecclesiastical money of England, where Canterbury, York, Durham, or St. Edmundsbury pence always reproduce the king's types and portrait. For the Croisraguel money has no likeness to the Scottish regal coinage, and has no royal head, but only the royal name. Its main types are orbs,

foliations, and Gothic ornaments of varied design, and its reverse inscription on the penny **CRVX PELLIT OMNE CRIMEN**—a tag from a hymn of Prudentius—is not found on any other coin in the world. The farthing's reverse legend is always **MONETA PAVPERVM**—the "money of the poor"—or some contraction of it. These brass farthings seem to be the first coinage in this metal known in the British Isles—they precede by more than a century the pattern brass of Elizabeth, and the large farthing currency of James I. Is it conceivable that this extraordinary discovery of a new ecclesiastical mint may lead to the tracing out of other abbey issues hitherto unexpected? Croisraguel was not the greatest or most wealthy of Scottish religious houses.

I must mention other papers of the session, which show that the interests of our learned contributors range down all the length of the British coinage. The Keeper of Medals at the British Museum has given us a study of a find of early British gold from the Evans collection—now housed under his own care. Mr. R. Cyril Lockett—a new writer I think—presented us with a long and careful monograph on the coins of Offa, the Mercian over-king who started the great English penny-series. The paper represents an immense amount of careful research, and certainly enables us to make a chronological distribution of the large majority of the coins of Offa, by comparison with the coinage of the contemporary archbishops of Canterbury and kings of Kent. It is somewhat surprising to find that all the better and more pleasing types of Offa, with his head and fantastic reverses of decorative pattern, belong to his early issues, and most of the commonplace pieces without the royal portrait to the later years of his reign. It looks as if the head, and geometric and floral patterns, were a survival from the free, if eccentric, national English art of the *scattas*, current before the penny became prevalent, and that they gradually died out in favour of plain inscriptions, without pictorial types, in agreement with the continental issues of Charlemagne, which settled down into

purely inscriptional types. It is much to be regretted that the old English pictorial types did not prevail, and notable that they made a curious reappearance a century and more later, in the coinage of Edward the Elder, where church towers, flowers, the divine hand, and geometric patterns cropped up for a generation, only to disappear again in favour of mere inscriptions in the times of Athelstan, Eadred, and Eadgar. As an historian I am not sure that I can subscribe to all of Mr. Lockett's deductions from his very careful study of Offa's money. For example, I cannot think it likely that all his pence were struck "from a sole or a very limited area", i. e. from Canterbury and possibly London, as Mr. Lockett proceeds to explain. Mercia had a coinage of its own as early as the time of Penda, a full century before Offa, and East Anglia, which Offa conquered and annexed, had certainly kings who struck money before his time. Surely Mercia proper under Offa must have had a mint of its own, at Leicester, Lincoln, or some other ancient and important town, where a coinage would continue to be struck when Kent was out of hand. Mr. Lockett concedes that Offa's successor Coenwulf had a non-Kentish mint; I cannot think it likely that the greater king was contented to be dependent on his Kentish vassals for such a regular appendage of royalty. No Northumbrian king, even if he reigned for only a few months like Redwulf, failed to advertise his existence by a coinage. And very ephemeral Mercian kings of the next generation, like Ludica, made haste to strike pence on attaining the crown. It is hardly conceivable to me that some of Offa's many types do not belong to Mercia proper. This, however, is a point that cannot be discussed in a few lines, and I pass on with a tribute to Mr. Lockett's ingenuity and industry.

In the early Middle Ages we were favoured during this session by a paper from Mr. Lawrence on the Ampthill find of pennies of the first issue of Henry II, while the central Middle Ages are well represented by the continuation of Mr. Hewlett's series of monographs on Anglo-Gallic

coins, embracing this time the French coinages of Henry V and VI. Lastly, the late Middle Age is covered by Mr. Lawrence's paper on the half-pence and farthings of Henry VII, and by the article of the same author in combination with Mr. Brooke on the "rose" and "martlet" half-groats of the same Tudor monarch. All these are interesting and valuable productions, well up to the level of the old reputation of the *Chronicle*. The only British section where we have no representative paper this session is the last—the 17th-18th-19th centuries. And many of you will agree with me that the milled series is the least inspiring section of our national coinage—there are few discoveries left to be made in it.

To vindicate our claim to cover medals as well as coins in the scope of our inquiries, I may mention that we print this session a paper by Mr. Maurice Rosenheim and the Keeper of the British Museum Cabinet on a hitherto unpublished renaissance medal of Lorenz Staiber.

I must make one final remark on the reading of our papers this year, viz. that the idea of inviting members to bring down coins from their own cabinets to the meeting, in order that they may be used to illustrate the argument of the paper, has proved a complete success. Many interesting coins have been exhibited, and (as I am thankful to say) not one of them has been dropped, injured, or lost. The system must undoubtedly be continued for the future, and should have the best results.

I trust the Society has grown accustomed to our new rooms—they are certainly light, spacious, and convenient, and I think are nearly as central and easy of access as our twenty-five-year tarrying-place in Albemarle Street. The moving of our books, cases, and cabinets was no small matter; we owe thanks to the Treasurer and Librarian for conducting it with such success. The cost was appreciable, but has been fully met by a voluntary subscription in which the greater part of our resident members have borne their part. That remote or overseas members should subscribe was hardly to be expected; they have never used our

library, or had the privilege of attending our monthly meetings.

May the *genius loci* in our new premises prove propitious, and help us to papers as good as ever, attendances even more numerous, and an increase in our membership which may serve to provide the funds that may bring up our venerable *Numismatic Chronicle* to its pre-war bulk and beauty.

Sir Arthur Evans proposed a vote of thanks to the President for his address. The result of the ballot for office-bearers for 1920-1921 was announced as follows:

President.

PROFESSOR SIR CHARLES OMAN, K.B.E., M.P., M.A., LL.D.,
F.S.A., F.B.A.

Vice-Presidents.

SIR ARTHUR J. EVANS, M.A., D.LITT., LL.D., PH.D., V.P.S.A.,
F.R.S., F.B.A.

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After proposing a vote of thanks to the Auditors and Scrutineers, the President adjourned the Society till October.





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